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HISTORY
AND
GOVERNMENT
OF THE
UNITED STATES
FOR EVENING SCHOOLS

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WILLIAM · E · CHANCELLOR

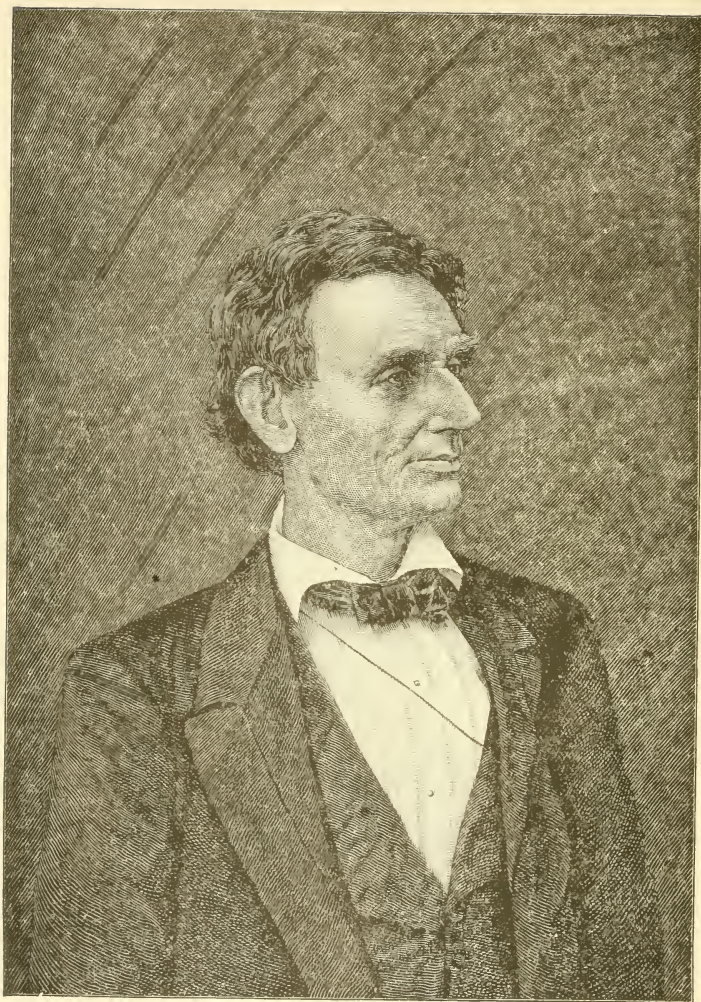


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ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN 1860.

HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

*A Brief Account of Our Geographic, Historical,
Political, and Economic Conditions*

FOR EVENING SCHOOL STUDENTS

BY

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HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT FOR EVENING SCHOOLS.

W. P. II

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PREFACE

THE purpose of this textbook is not only to present interesting and instructive accounts of our American history and of our political institutions, but also to introduce the superior students of evening schools to some of the fundamental principles of our social and business conditions. The maturity of such students in years and in experience necessitates a presentation of American affairs decidedly different from that in ordinary day-school textbooks. An experience of many years in several cities in teaching this important subject in evening classes has led me to prepare a text that is somewhat unlike any other both in its nature and in the range of its topics. Intending to deal with matters that the evening-school student desires and needs to know, I have assumed that the reading and study of the text would be accompanied by skillful supplementary instruction by the zealous teachers of these interesting classes.

The especial value of American history and civil government in evening schools is due to two facts: that many of the students are foreign-born or children of the foreign-born, anxious to know the story of our country; and that most of them will soon be voters, who ought to know at least as much as these pages contain. Of these students, few have attended day school long enough to reach courses in American history. I have known many cases where foreigners entered city evening schools within a day or two of their arrival.

This text is one of several in a series successfully used in many cities. It is now presented in a thoroughly revised edition.

W. E. C.

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IMPORTANT DATES IN AMERICAN HISTORY

- 1492.** Christopher Columbus, an Italian in the employ of the Spanish, discovered the New World.
- 1497.** John Cabot, an Englishman, discovered the continent of North America.
- 1535.** Jacques Cartier, a Frenchman, discovered the St. Lawrence River and located Montreal, the beginning of French settlement.
- 1565** The Spanish settled in St. Augustine, Florida, the oldest town now within the United States.
- 1607.** The settlement of Virginia, the first successful colony in the thirteen "Original States," was begun by the English.
- 1609.** Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the employ of the Dutch, discovered the Hudson River.
- 1620.** The English Pilgrims began the settlement of Massachusetts.
- 1647.** Massachusetts passed laws providing for the establishment of public schools.
- 1664.** The English took New Netherland from the Dutch and called it New York.
- 1682.** The English Quakers settled in Pennsylvania.
- 1733.** Georgia, the last of the thirteen colonies, was settled by the English.
- 1759.** The English won their final victory over the French at Quebec, and became the greatest power in the New World.
- 1775.** The Revolutionary War was begun as a protest against taxation without colonial representation in the English Parliament.
- 1775.** The battle of Bunker Hill was fought between the Americans and the English.
- 1776.** The Continental Congress published the American Declaration of Independence from England.
- 1776.** The Americans won the battle of Trenton.
- 1777.** The Americans won the battle of Saratoga.
- 1781.** The Americans and their French allies won their final victory over the English at Yorktown.
- 1789.** In accordance with the new Constitution, George Washington became the first President of the United States.
- 1793.** Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin that made Negro slavery profitable.
- 1803.** The Louisiana province was sold to the United States by France.
- 1807.** Robert Fulton built the first successful steamboat.

- 1812-5.** The second war with Great Britain was fought.
- 1819.** Florida was purchased from Spain.
- 1819.** The first steamship, the *Savannah*, crossed the Atlantic Ocean.
- 1820.** The Missouri Compromise fixed the northern limits of the States in which Negro slavery prevailed.
- 1823.** The Monroe Doctrine was declared, warning European nations not to establish further colonies in the New World.
- 1825.** The Erie Canal was opened, which made the city of New York the great commercial center of the United States.
- 1830.** The first successful steam locomotive was used in the U. S.
- 1837.** Samuel F. B. Morse patented the first successful telegraph.
- 1845.** Texas was annexed.
- 1846.** The Oregon boundary was fixed by treaty between the United States and Great Britain.
- 1846-8.** The United States fought a war with Mexico, and as the result acquired the southwestern States and Territories.
- 1848.** Gold was discovered in California, and its settlement by Americans was begun.
- 1850.** The Compromise of 1850 repealed the Missouri Compromise and led to the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law.
- 1861-5.** The War of Secession was fought.
- 1862.** The *Monitor* defeated the *Merrimac* in Hampton Roads, beginning a new order of affairs in naval warfare.
- 1863.** President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which set free the slaves.
- 1863.** Vicksburg was besieged and taken and the battle of Gettysburg was won by the Union armies.
- 1865-70.** The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments were adopted, giving the Negroes freedom and the ballot.
- 1869.** The Pacific Railroad was finished, uniting New York with San Francisco by steam railroads.
- 1882.** Immigration to the United States of Chinese laborers suspended.
- 1884.** The electric trolley street car was perfected for practical use.
- 1898.** The Hawaiian Islands were annexed.
- 1898.** The United States fought with Spain, set Cuba free, and acquired the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico.
- 1902.** The Wright Brothers invented a successful flying machine.
- 1913.** The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Amendments were adopted, establishing an income tax and popular election of Senators.
- 1914.** Completion of the Panama Canal by the United States.
- 1917-1918.** United States in the World War.

THE GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, AND GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

PART I

OUR COUNTRY AND OUR PEOPLE

1. The Land. — The main body of the United States is a continuous region that stretches across the continent of North America from the Atlantic Ocean on the east to the Pacific Ocean on the west, and from the Gulf of Mexico on the south

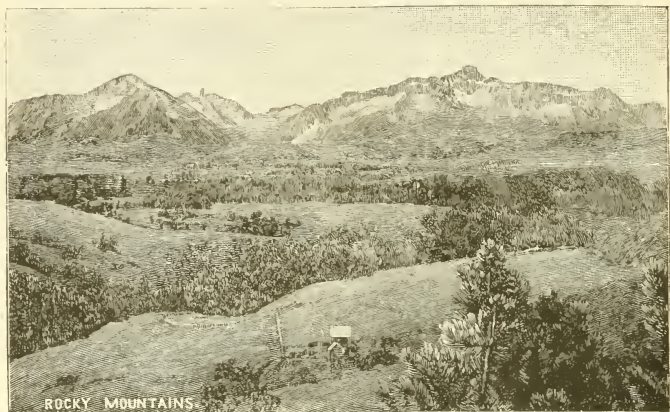


NEW YORK CITY HARBOR

to the Great Lakes on the north. This region is twenty-five hundred miles from east to west and thirteen hundred miles from north to south, and includes two great mountain systems

with an immense river valley between them. The Atlantic Coast has many large and safe harbors for our coasting trade as well as for that with foreign countries. There are also several fine harbors on the Gulf of Mexico and on the Pacific Coast. The fresh-water lakes to the north are great inland seas upon which sail many fleets of merchant ships.

2. The Resources.—The resources of the United States are of vast extent and wide distribution. The chief coal mines are in the Appalachian region; iron is extensively mined near the shores of Lake Superior; but both these minerals are found in



abundance in various other parts of the country. The Rocky Mountain Highland is noted for rich mines of gold, silver, lead, and copper. The latter is mined extensively also in the Lake Superior region. The greatest wealth of the United States is in the millions of acres of fertile land upon the Atlantic Coast, in the Mississippi Valley, and upon the Pacific Coast. Both in resources and in climate, nearly the whole of our country is suitable for the habitation of man.

3. The Climate.—The variations in climate are great. Florida is tropical, with moist heat, while Texas and South Carolina are almost tropical, with dry heat; most of the Mississippi Valley has hot summers and cold winters; the climate

of northern California, Oregon, and Washington is comparatively mild throughout the year; and New England has short, warm summers and long, severe winters.

4. The Agricultural Products.—The fruits, vegetables, and cereals raised in the United States vary from the tropical fruits of the South to the hardy grains of the North. All kinds of timber are found here, including pine, cedar, spruce, hickory, oak, walnut, and cypress. We are rich in forest lands, despite the often wasteful depredations of the lumbermen. On the farms, plantations, and ranches, there are all kinds of domestic animals, such as horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. The vast industrial and commercial development of the factories and shops of our country is dependent in large measure



HARVESTING WHEAT

upon the fertility and extent of its farm, mineral, and timber lands.

5. The Various Parts of the United States.—Besides the continental region of the United States that stretches from Boston to San Francisco, with its forty-eight States, our nation possesses lands not within that region. These separated lands include Alaska, the Philippine Islands, the Hawaiian Islands, Porto Rico, and several small islands in the Pacific Ocean. The District of Columbia is a small region between Maryland and Virginia, governed directly by Congress; in it is our capital city, Washington. All together there are some fifty-five different governments subordinate to the general government of the United States. These subordinate sections include States, Territories, and Dependencies. Besides these, we have influ-

ence over the island of Cuba, which lies south of Florida, and over the republic of Panama, where our nation controls a ten-mile strip of land across the Isthmus of Panama, and has built a great canal to connect the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. (See maps, pp. 11 and 19.)

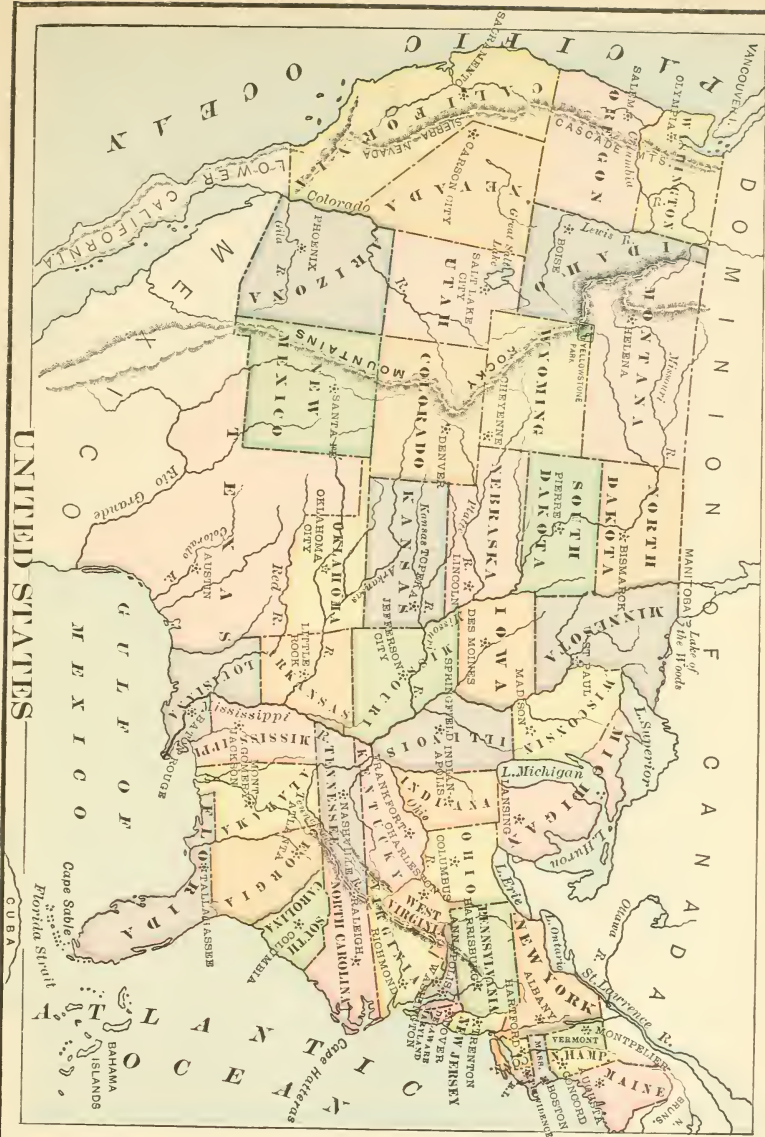
6. The States. — The forty-eight states vary largely in size, from Rhode Island and Delaware, which are very small, to the immense States of Texas and California. Many of our States are larger than England, and the greatest, Texas, exceeds Austria-Hungary in size.

The Thirteen "Original States." — Thirteen of these States are known as the "Original States" because by their union they constituted the United States at its beginning. These thirteen States were colonies from the Old World, and secured their independence from Great Britain by the Revolutionary war. (See pp. 28 to 35.) They are New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. The other States have been admitted from time to time into the Union in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, which was framed in 1787 and was formally ratified soon thereafter by the different States.

7. The Various Groups of States. — For the sake of convenience, the States are commonly divided into certain groups. This enables us to refer conveniently to a region including a number of States.

New England States. — The New England States are Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Taken all together, they are not quite equal in size to the State of Washington.

Middle Atlantic States. — Another group is often called the Middle Atlantic States, and consists of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, and West Virginia. This division includes also the District of Columbia.



Southern States.—The next group is generally known as the Southern States; and includes North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Arkansas, Texas, and Oklahoma.

North Central States.—The North Central States are Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Kentucky, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska.

Plateau States.—The Plateau States, occupying most of the great Rocky Mountain Highland, consist of Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, New Mexico, and Arizona.

Pacific States.—The Pacific States are Washington, Oregon, and California.

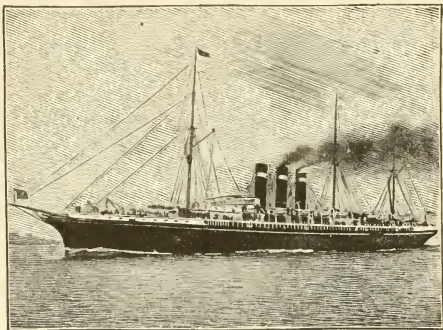
8. The Territories.—The thirteen “Original States” (which included the regions now known as the States of Maine, Vermont, Kentucky, and West Virginia) and California and Texas were never Territories; but all the other States were Territories before their admission into the Union. Outside of the United States, there is one Territory upon the Continent of North America,—Alaska,¹ an immense region partly within the Arctic Circle, whose natural resources are gold, fish, timber, and fur-bearing animals; and another in the Pacific Ocean,—the Territory of Hawaii, which produces much sugar. (See map, p. 19.)

9. The Colonies.—We own also the Philippine Islands, off the coast of Asia, and rule them as a colony. These are tropical islands containing a total area of land about equal to that of Nevada. They are extremely fertile, producing hemp, sugar, copra, and tobacco, and possess some mineral resources. Porto Rico, one of the important islands of the West Indies, is governed as a colony of this country. The United States possesses also a number of small islands in the Pacific Ocean, chief of

¹ The Territory of Alaska includes a small strip of land upon the Pacific coast, which reaches almost to the northwest corner of the United States.

which are Tutuila and smaller islands of the Samoan group, and Guam, the largest of the Ladrões. (See map, p. 19.)

10. Population. — Of the present population of the United States, which numbers over a hundred millions, eleven millions within the continuous continental region are Negroes and thirty millions are foreign born, or the children of foreign-born people. Nearly all of the foreigners have come to us from Europe, but some have come from Canada, Mexico, South America, Asia, and Africa. There are also among us a quarter of a million aboriginal Indians, and smaller numbers of Chinese and Japanese. The



OCEAN GREYHOUND

rest of the people in the United States are children of native-born whites. Nearly all of the people speak the English language, which is the official language of the government.

11. Immigration. — All the white people in the United States who were not themselves immigrants are the offspring of immigrants from Europe. Most of the earliest settlers came from England. More recently many thousands have come from Ireland, Germany, and Sweden. Still more recently many thousands have come from Russia, Austria, Hungary, and Southern European countries, especially Italy. The greatest numbers of immigrants have come here during the twenty years preceding the World War.

12. Causes of Emigration from Europe. — Europeans have come to the United States for many different reasons, but chiefly because of the troubles in the Old World and of the hope of freedom here. Recently some have come because of the wealth-making attractions of the New World.

Early Immigrants. — The early immigrants who established their first settlements here had to endure terrible hardships. Many of them died of starvation and of the severity of the climate. In these days it is hard to realize what it meant for a man to come with a family from the settled conditions of the Old World to the loneliness and struggles of the New World. All the Negroes are descended from slaves stolen in Africa. They were brought here to do menial work, or work that the whites were unable to do because of the climate.

13. Effect of Emigration upon Europe. — The discovery of the New World not only made a great nation here in the United States and led to the establishment of other nations in Central and South America, but it also greatly benefited the Old World. Emigration has been the means of relieving European nations of their discontented people; and the Old World itself is more prosperous now than it was four hundred years ago, when Columbus discovered the New World. The increased supply of materials for manufacture taken from the natural resources of America is one of the causes that have made food, cotton, timber, and metals much cheaper than they ever were in Europe before the settlement of this land. Such are the benefits of international trade.

14. The Indian Tribes. — At the time when Columbus discovered the New World, it was inhabited by a race of men who have always been called Indians because the great discoverer thought that in finding this land he had found India. The Indians who were then within the present territory of the United States formed many small bands and wandered about through large regions of territory, constantly fighting with one another. The coming of the whites compelled the various Indian tribes to be much more friendly because of the alliances among them that were necessary to enable them to fight the whites. Some of the colonies were always friendly with the Indians. Of these, Pennsylvania was especially peaceful until the time of the French and Indian War. There were a few Indian tribes with settled habitations, the most famous being the Iroquois.

Resemblances and Differences. — These native Indian tribes differed very greatly from one another. They spoke many different languages or different dialects. Some of their governments had a general resemblance, and their customs and religions were somewhat alike, but they lived in those violent conditions of personal feuds and tribal warfare which are the outcome of intelligent savagery.



WHITE SETTLERS TRADING WITH INDIANS

15. Origin of the Indians. — Although the origin of the Indians is uncertain, there is reason to believe that the Indian race has been in the world for thirty thousand years and more, a period ten times as long as that of civilized history in Europe. The geographical origin¹ of the Indians is probably the same as that of the races from which the white men have sprung in Asia and Europe; that is, they are probably descended from

¹ This interesting question is discussed by Professor W. Z. Ripley in his *Races of Europe*, and by Professor F. S. Dellenbaugh in his *North Americans of Yesterday*.

the people who many thousand years ago lived along the margins of the lands stretching northwest and southeast from the Malay Peninsula to the British Isles, Iceland, and Greenland.

16. Present Condition of the Aborigines. — The effect of the settling of the New World by Europeans was slowly and steadily to crowd the Indians westward. After the white men came, there was considerably less fighting than before among the Indians themselves, since the Indians formed alliances with one another to resist the newcomers. In addition to the



SPEARING FISH

quarter of a million Indians who have retained many of their native characteristics, there are now many people in the United States who are partly of Indian blood. In the course of the centuries, many Indians have become civilized and have learned to live as the white people live. There are now five thousand Indian farmers in New York State, American citizens as truly as are the descendants of the English and of the Germans who have come hither three thousand miles across the sea.

Indians on Reservations. — Separated by themselves in the

Indian communities, there are now about one hundred thousand Indians on reservations or other lands set apart for them by the American government. The present plan is to have Indian families live upon farms or engage in industry in cities just like all the rest of our people; and it is working successfully. The white men have made our country a land of peace for the Indians. Stopping their wars with one another was the first essential in civilizing them.

MAP STUDY

1. Turn to the map, p. 19, and note the location of the North American continent.

2. Tell in what direction from North America is each of the other great continents.

3. Compare the area of the United States with that of other great nations.

4. Upon the map of the United States, p. 11, locate the various States.

5. Compare the relative areas of Texas and Utah, 3 to 1; Ohio and Massachusetts, 5 to 1; New York and West Virginia, 2 to 1; Georgia and Connecticut, 12 to 1; California and Kentucky, 4 to 1; New Mexico and Rhode Island, 100 to 1. Make other comparisons.

6. Discuss the locations of the States with respect to —

(a) Climate.

(c) Waterways.

(b) Oceans.

(d) Mountains.

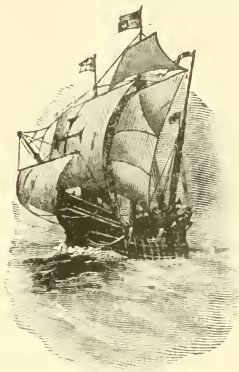
7. Study the map with reference to other facts mentioned in the text.

PART II

OUR HISTORY

17. Christopher Columbus. — Until about four hundred years ago, all civilized people lived in that part of the earth which we now call the “Old World.”

In 1492 Christopher Columbus, an Italian sailor whose name means “the Christ-bearing dove,” secured permission from the Spanish king and queen, Ferdinand and Isabella, to try to reach India by sailing westward. With their royal protection and financial assistance, he sailed westward across the Atlantic Ocean until he reached an island off the coast of this “New World.”¹

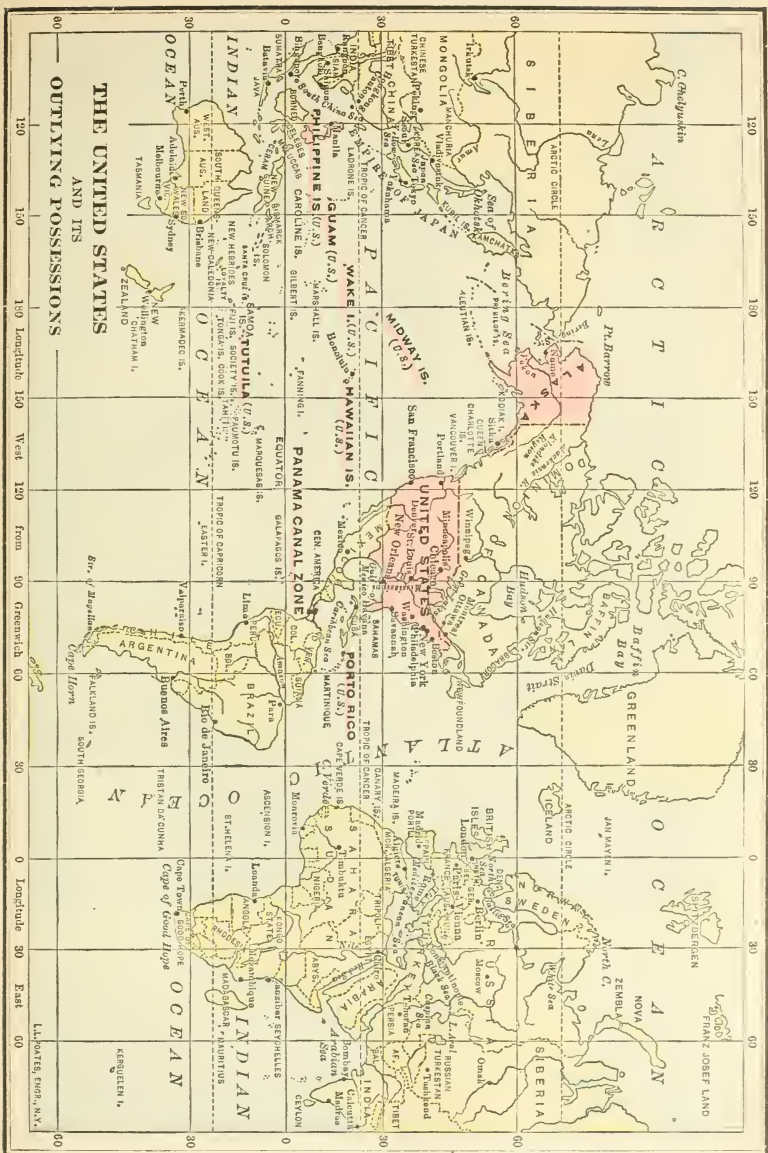


COLUMBUS'S SHIP

18. Discovery of the New World. — This discovery of America was the result of many years of persistent endeavor on the part of Columbus to organize an expedition, for he believed the stories of the existence of strange lands far to the west of Spain and east of India, and dreamed that he might find those lands, bring their inhabitants to a knowledge of the Christian religion, and secure vast wealth for himself as their ruler.

The Start. — Columbus believed the earth to be round, — not flat, as most people then thought it to be, — and he hoped that those far-away lands, of which tradition had told him, might prove to be the borders of Cathay, then the region of romance and wealth in the imaginations of all men. He hoped to set forth on his great voyage of

¹ This was probably that island in the Bahamas which is now called Watling Island. (See Bahamas, on map, p. 19.)



discovery with a magnificent expedition; but the ships in which he actually sailed were three small vessels, carrying all together only ninety men.

Other Voyages of Columbus. — In the ten years that followed the discovery, Columbus made three other voyages to America. Many other adventurous sailors followed in his path, so that all Europe knew before long that a vast New World had been found.

19. Discovery of the Mississippi River by De Soto. — After the discovery of America, in 1492, expedition after expedition was



DE SOTO'S MARCH

sent out by Spain, France, and Great Britain to seize territory for their sovereigns. One of these expeditions was that of De Soto, who came with six hundred warriors in brilliant array to take possession of the southern part of what is now the United States. Nearly every man in that expedition perished from hunger, hardships, and fights with the Indians. De Soto him-

self died of a fever, and was buried in the waters of the Mississippi River, which he had discovered in 1541.

20. The Colony of Sir Walter Raleigh. — A century after the time of Columbus, Sir Walter Raleigh, a statesman of the great Queen Elizabeth of England, formed a desire to establish an English colony on the shores of North America, and spent vast sums of money in sending out ships with settlers. His most important effort was to establish, in 1584, a colony upon the island of Roanoke, on the coast of the Carolinas. This seemed likely to succeed, until two years had intervened, when additional settlers were sent out, who found that the original settlement had been entirely deserted. Whether the colonists were killed by the Indians or were carried away captive by them, no one knows to this day.

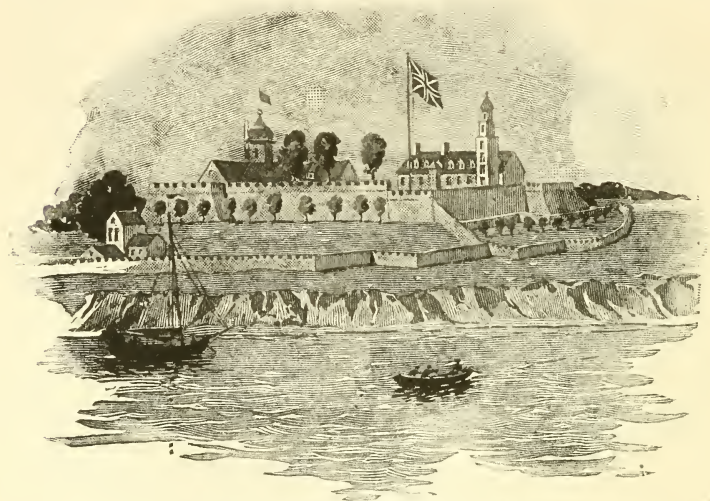
21. A Century of Adventure. — From 1492 to 1607 many daring men endeavored to take possession of that part of North America which is now the United States. These adventurers came mainly from England, Spain, and France. The result of all their activity was that, in 1607, the Spanish held not only nearly all of South America, but Central America, Mexico, the West Indies, and the southern and western parts of what is now our territory, while France claimed Canada and the Mississippi Valley, and England controlled most of the seacoast upon the Atlantic. This period of heroic adventures upon sea and land prepared the European nations for the more serious but less attractive enterprises of permanent settlement and systematic pursuit of agriculture and the fisheries.

22. Jamestown, the First Successful English Settlement. — With the year 1607 began the period of successful settlement by the English. From that year to this, the immigration of Europeans has never ceased. The little band that came to Jamestown from England numbered only a hundred and five.¹ Their leader, Captain John Smith, by his courage, firmness, and industry, enabled the colony to succeed where all earlier colonies

¹ Some authorities say one hundred and forty. See Doyle, *English Colonies, Virginia*.

had failed. He compelled the colonists to work, made treaties with the Indians, explored the Atlantic coast, and secured more colonists and additional supplies from England.

23. The Founding of New Amsterdam (New York). — In 1609 Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the employ of the Dutch, discovered the Hudson River. The Dutch began to make a settlement at New Amsterdam, soon afterwards. In 1664, when Peter Stuyvesant was governor of New Amsterdam, the English took



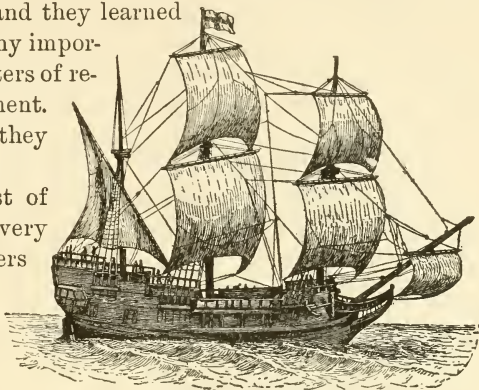
EARLY VIEW OF NEW AMSTERDAM

possession of it, greatly to the regret of the governor, who was, nevertheless, unable to offer any resistance, since the Dutch seemed pleased with the idea of English rule. The name was then changed to New York. Even at this time New York was a cosmopolitan city, in which no less than twenty-five different languages were spoken. People from all the different countries of the world were already coming to the beautiful trading city.

24. The Pilgrims at Plymouth. — The little group of settlers who, in 1620, landed from the *Mayflower* at Plymouth, Massa-

chusetts, numbered but one hundred and two. These first New England people were known as "Pilgrims" because, in 1608, they had fled from England to Holland to avoid religious persecution. In Holland they learned from the Dutch many important lessons in matters of religion and government. From Holland they came to America.

Hardships.—Most of the settlers were very poor. The winters were long and severe, and such as the immigrants had never known at home. Few of the



THE MAYFLOWER

settlers understood how to farm land. Sometimes the Indians were friendly to them, and sometimes they were unfriendly. Their variable moods fearfully increased the difficulties of the settlers. These early days were days of heroism. At Plymouth, Captain Myles Standish was the soldier whose brave deeds helped to maintain the small colony.

25. The Emigration of the Puritans from England.—From 1628 to 1640, after the settlement of Plymouth was well established, there was a very large emigration of people from England. Twenty thousand came to Massachusetts, founding Salem, Boston, Cambridge, and many other towns.

Strife between Puritans and Cavaliers.—The cause of this emigration from the home country was religious and political strife between the Puritans and the Cavaliers. The Puritans believed in giving the Church of England, which was supported by the national government, a simpler ritual and in making it more useful for the betterment of society. They believed also in requiring the king, as the head of the government, to obey the will of the nation as expressed by

Parliament. On the other hand, the Cavaliers believed in the "divine right" of the king to rule as he pleased. After 1640 this strife took the form of actual war. Then the Puritans, who hitherto had felt too much oppressed in England to be willing to remain there, began to take great interest in home matters, fighting in the army against the king, and finally securing complete control of the government in the period of the English Commonwealth (1649-1660).

26. The Emigration of the Cavaliers.—The same reason that caused the Puritans to cease emigrating to America led thousands of the Cavaliers to leave England. They found refuge in Virginia, especially in the period from 1650 to 1670. Thus, in the early days of our history, Massachusetts and Virginia developed decided differences of opinion. These differences had important results in our later history. (See p. 48.)

27. William Penn and Pennsylvania.—After the settlement of Virginia and Massachusetts, many colonists came over to various parts of the country. One of the most interesting of the colonies was that begun in Pennsylvania by William Penn in 1682. In 1683 he founded Philadelphia. The father of William Penn was a wealthy English admiral, while his mother was a Dutch lady. In his youth, William Penn became a Quaker. In his travels through Germany, he saw the terrible suffering of the people as a result of the Thirty Years' War over religious matters.

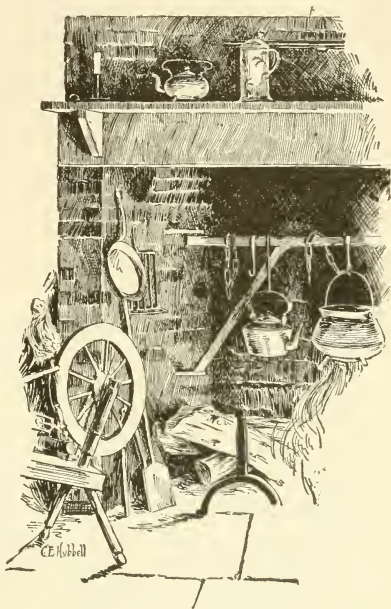
Emigration of Quakers.—He raised money in England to pay the passage of thousands of his Quaker brethren across the ocean. The Quakers, or "Friends," as they style themselves, were being persecuted in England just as the Puritans had been persecuted fifty years before. They sought peace in the New World, and found it. This colony grew in numbers very rapidly. Before the War of Independence, the Quaker city of Philadelphia was the largest in the New World.

28. Oglethorpe and Georgia.—The last of the thirteen English colonies to be settled was Georgia, where General Oglethorpe was the leader. He was a wealthy man who pitied the condi-

tions of the poor in England, whom it was then the custom to imprison for debt. He made a successful settlement at Savannah, Georgia, in 1733; and lived long enough to see Georgia, as one of the united colonies, secure independence from Great Britain.

29. Conditions of Life in the Colonial Period.—After the settlement of Pennsylvania in 1682, the people of all the colonies were generally comfortable in their homes, for they were able to earn fair livelihoods from their occupations. The descendants of the original colonists had grown accustomed to the climate and to the conditions of the various regions that they inhabited. They had learned how to raise crops, how to build ships, how to make cloth, and how to secure freedom from Indian warfare, by conquering the natives, or by driving them away, or by making treaties with them. In 1700 there were nearly three hundred thousand people of European descent in this country. All of them lived within a few miles of the seacoast.

Preparations for Self-government.—The period from the year 1682 to the year 1776 is known as the “colonial period,” because during this time the settlements were governed as separate colonies of the English crown. During this time the colonists were learning how to govern themselves in local affairs, and were preparing for self-government as an independent nation.



COLONIAL KITCHEN

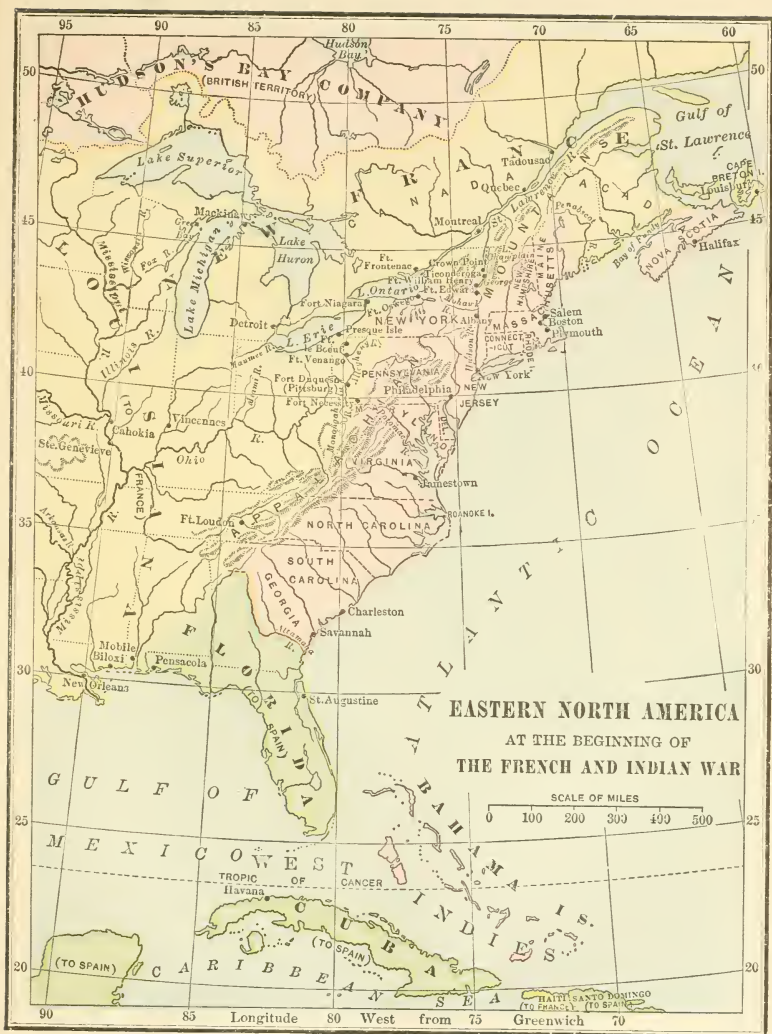
30. Wars of the Colonial Period. — During the colonial period, England was constantly at war with France, both in the Old World and in the New. Because the Atlantic Coast was subject to England, while Canada and the Great Lakes were subject to France, there were many wars. The English and their colonists fought against the French and against most of the Indian tribes, though in these wars the Iroquois Indians supported the English. As the result of these wars, England drove the French out of Canada. The greatest and final victory was won at Quebec in 1759, where both the French General Montcalm and the English General Wolfe were killed.

Effect of the Wars. — The effect of these wars on the American colonists was very important. The colonists learned how to fight well; the people of the different colonies, and of many nationalities were brought together, so that they became friendly; there was an extension of colonial territory both west and north; and the Indians were driven farther west and were considerably reduced in numbers.

Population. — Some of the Indians became civilized farmers and traders. At the close of the colonial period, there were two and three quarters millions of people in the English colonies, of whom over half a million were Negro slaves. Some of the colonists had immigrated to the New World, but most of them were the descendants of earlier immigrants. They were a hardy people, active and ambitious, and had become largely self-governing. They were comparatively free from England in matters of religion, but they were restless because of the rule of the home government.

31. Colonial Governments. — In 1775, the time of the outbreak of the War of Independence, the thirteen colonies had various kinds of governments, though all were subordinate to the king of England.

Charter Colonies. — Two of the colonies had royal charters that made them very democratic and independent. They elected their own governors, councils, and assemblies, and had greater freedom than any of the other colonies. These two colonies



were Connecticut and Rhode Island. One colony, Massachusetts, had a charter and many special rights, but was ruled by a governor appointed by the king.

Royal Colonies.—Seven of the colonies had no political charters, but were under governors appointed by the king. They elected their own assembly, while the governor appointed the council. These colonies were New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

Proprietary Colonies.—The remaining colonies were proprietary, which means that they were ruled by proprietors who originally owned the land. These colonies, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, had charters which allowed them to elect their own assemblies, but the proprietors appointed the governors. The first two of these colonies had the same governor, but different assemblies. Of all the colonists, the people of Maryland had the least freedom.

32. Causes of the Revolutionary War.—The great wars between England and France in the eighteenth century, which were carried on both in Europe and in America, cost the English government immense sums of money, and the English merchants wished to monopolize the most profitable trade with the American colonies. These two facts led the British government to levy taxes upon the English colonies, and finally to forbid the colonists to trade directly with any country but Great Britain. Restrictions were even placed upon the trade of the colonies among themselves.

No Taxation without Representation.—As the colonists themselves were given no voice in these measures, they were much offended at these laws and requirements of the British government. They felt that they, too, were Englishmen, and they believed in the English principle that the citizens should have a voice in the government. In every part of the colonies a cry went up, "No taxation without representation." This meant that, because the colonies were not represented in the British Parliament, they should not be taxed at all. In other words,

the colonists claimed to be subjects not of Parliament, but of the king as head of the British empire; and the king had no taxing powers.

33. The Stamp Act and Other Tax Laws. — In 1760 George III came to the throne of England.¹ He meant to be master of England and of all her colonies and dependencies. By bribery, royal prerogative,² and various other means, he secured control of Parliament, and set about making plans to reduce the colonies to subjection.

Resistance to the Stamp Act. — In 1765 the Stamp Act was passed. This was a measure requiring all kinds of legal documents (such as deeds, mortgages, promissory notes, ship clearance papers, and bills of sale) and newspapers published in America to be stamped by revenue officers at a cost varying from a few pence to several pounds. It was such a tax upon colonial business as threatened the prosperity of the people. Moreover, it was a tax neither provided for in the colonial charters nor fixed by the custom of years. The colonists absolutely refused to use the stamped paper, and business, for want of legality, was almost at an end. Moreover, the people ceased to import goods from England, and the wares sent to America



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

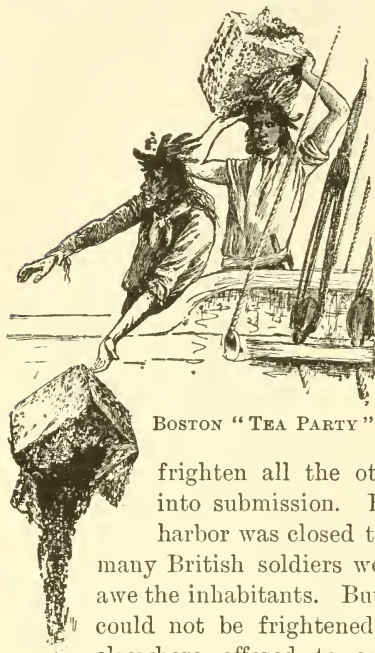
¹ The rulers of England during the colonial days from the time of Raleigh were Elizabeth, James I, Charles I (who was beheaded), Oliver Cromwell (who was Lord Protector during the time of the Commonwealth), Charles II, James II, William III and Mary (who were placed on the throne by the English Revolution of 1688), Anne, George I, George II, and George III. Elizabeth and Cromwell were perhaps the greatest rulers England ever had.

² This means that the English crown claims all powers not expressly delegated to Parliament. At this time the colonies were chiefly governed by "royal prerogative."

were returned. The protests of the English manufacturers and the influence of Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, who was at the time in London, led Parliament to repeal the Stamp Act in 1766.

Boston "Tea Party."—But George III and his ministers persuaded Parliament to punish the colonists by passing other

acts.¹ In resistance to the principle of taxation without representation, several cargoes of tea, which were subject to a very light tax, were thrown into Boston harbor by the citizens disguised as Indians who made up the "Tea Party." The other colonies also resisted the new laws promptly and vigorously.



BOSTON "TEA PARTY"

Boston Port Bill.—At last the king determined to ruin Boston and thereby to frighten all the other sections of the country into submission. By the Boston Port Bill the harbor was closed to all shipping. Besides this, many British soldiers were quartered in the city, to awe the inhabitants. But the people of Massachusetts could not be frightened, and many of the colonists elsewhere offered to assist them, by donations of money and merchandise, to endure the oppression.

34. The Leaders in Resistance.—Before the breaking out of armed resistance, there arose several leaders who by voice and pen urged their friends and neighbors to assert "the rights of

¹ The more important of these laws and related events were: *Stamp Act*, 1765; *Townshend Acts*, 1767; Boston "Massacre," 1770; North Carolina, "Insurrection against Governor Tryon," 1771; Boston "Tea Party," 1773; *Boston Port Bill*, 1774; *Quebec Act*, 1774; *Newfoundland Fisheries Act*, 1775

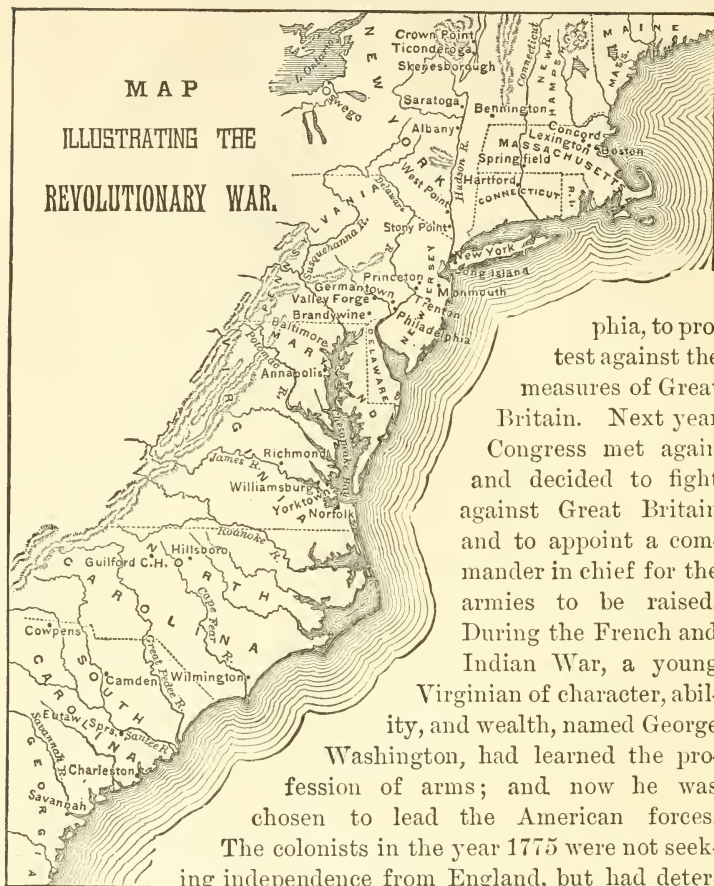
Englishmen." The most important of these rights had frequently been exercised in English history. This was the right to make armed resistance to the officers of the king when the subjects believed the king was doing wrong. Among these leaders were Patrick Henry of Virginia and James Otis of Massachusetts, both great orators; Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, a politician and organizer; Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, printer, journalist, author, scientist, and statesman; and John Dickinson, a lawyer and writer.

Organization for Resistance. — In one way and another, these men, with numerous associates, organized the spirit of opposition and established "committees of correspondence," "Sons of Liberty," "committees of safety," and "non-importation societies," so that when the people were sufficiently aroused to make armed resistance, they were also ready to overthrow their old governments and to set up new ones.

35. The Patriots and Loyalists. — By no means all of the American colonists were ready in 1774 to make armed resistance against the enforcement of the tax laws by the king's officers. There were many different nationalities and races represented in the population, — English, Irish, Scotch, Dutch, Swedes, Finns, Germans, French Huguenots, Negroes, and others in small numbers. They were often widely separated from one another in isolated communities, and news traveled very slowly among them.

Loyalists or Tories. — Many of them were recent immigrants, full of Old World ideas, including superstitious reverence for kings. A few were closely dependent upon or related to the royal officers in the various colonies. Some were merchants with important business connections with the people of England. Of the white population, fully one third were either opposed or indifferent to the idea of resisting the power of king and Parliament. They were known as Loyalists or Tories, and many of them were ready to help the British army put down the armed resistance of their fellow-countrymen, who were generally known as Patriots.

36. Steps to Independence. — In 1774 a Congress of delegates from most of the colonies was summoned to meet at Philadel-



phia, to protest against the measures of Great Britain. Next year Congress met again and decided to fight against Great Britain and to appoint a commander in chief for the armies to be raised. During the French and Indian War, a young

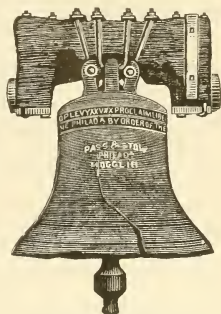
Virginian of character, ability, and wealth, named George Washington, had learned the profession of arms; and now he was chosen to lead the American forces.

The colonists in the year 1775 were not seeking independence from England, but had determined to secure the right of self-government, which means the right of each citizen to vote for his choice of rulers and lawmakers.

Declaration of Independence.—After a year of fighting, a majority of the people came to see that, as a military necessity, a new nation must be formed here. In 1776 Congress published

the Declaration of Independence (pp. 101-104), which stated the reasons why the colonies could no longer endure the rule of George III, his ministers, and Parliament.

37. Early Progress of the War.—*In 1775* was fought the great battle of Bunker Hill, near Boston, in which the colonists, though defeated, showed the English that they were stubborn fighters. Soon after this great battle, General George Washington took command of the army and was its leader until the close of the war.



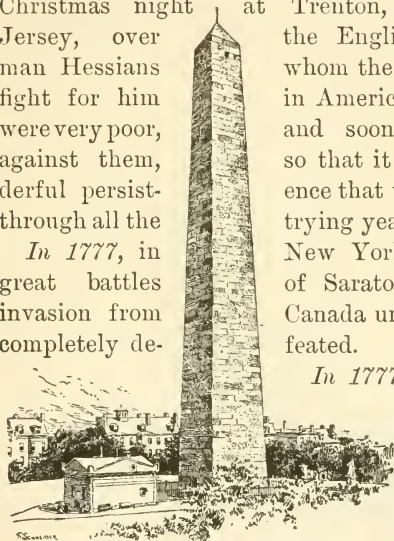
LIBERTY BELL

In 1776 a great victory was won on Christmas night at Trenton, New Jersey, over man Hessians fight for him were very poor, against them, derful persist-through all the

In 1777, in great battles invasion from completely de-

the English soldiers and the Ger-whom the English king had hired to in America. The colonists, however, and soon great armies were sent so that it was only by the most won-ence that the resistance was sustained trying years that followed.

New York State, occurred the two of Saratoga, in which the English Canada under General Burgoyne was feated.



BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

In 1777-1778 the American army passed a terrible winter of hunger and cold at Valley Forge in Pennsylvania, where George Washington himself, though a very rich man, endured all the

privations of the common soldiers, and generously spent his own wealth for their relief.

38. The French Alliance.—*In 1778* the French also were ready to fight against their old enemies, the English, and,

through the influence of Benjamin Franklin, made a treaty with the Continental Congress by which they agreed to help the American cause with men, money, and ships.

1779-1781. — With the coming of the French, the military operations were extended into the South, and at Cowpens, in South Carolina, the Southern soldiers under General Nathanael Greene won a brilliant victory over the English, in the winter of 1781. Not until the fall of 1781, however, was the decisive victory gained. At that time, with the assistance of the French soldiers and ships, General Washington was able to compel the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, the English commander at Yorktown, Virginia. This siege of Yorktown was the last important military operation of the Revolutionary War. It was followed soon after by the withdrawal of the British armies from Philadelphia and from New York and of their ships from the Atlantic Coast.

39. General View of the War. — The Revolutionary War lasted over seven years, during which time many battles were fought. England sent over thousands of soldiers and many war vessels. Among the greatest heroes of this war was Commodore John Paul Jones, who won great victories at sea.



JOHN PAUL JONES

Character of the War. — From a military point of view, the Revolutionary War was one of the most interesting in the history of mankind. During almost its entire course, the British had possession of the two largest American cities, New York and Philadelphia; and they won many battles. The most suc-

cessful fighting of the Americans was in the open country. The campaigns of George Washington were managed with

the utmost caution and skill. He worked against almost insurmountable difficulties, as his men were constantly enlisting and deserting, and Congress was always short of the money that was so necessary to pay for their food and wages.

Emigration of Tories. — During the war and at its close, many of the people who believed that the colonies should not be separated from Great Britain emigrated to Canada or to England.

40. *The New Nation.* — In 1783 a treaty of peace was made between the United States and Great Britain, by which the independence of the United States was recognized by the mother country. The new nation made a beginning with the thirteen "Original States," and with all the lands extending west of those States as far as the Mississippi River. In this region there were, however, British forts not yet surrendered, and many hostile Indians. In the course of the next fifteen years, the British withdrew their garrisons from these forts, and the United States undertook the conquest of the soil from the Indians. Our people traveled over the Appalachian Mountains down into the fertile valleys of the Ohio, Tennessee, and Cumberland rivers, and soon had settled therein, to the number of several hundred thousand.

41. *The Constitution.* — The new nation of the United States found it very difficult to establish a good form of government. It was heavily in debt, and each of the States regarded itself as an independent nation, not responsible for the general debts contracted by Congress for the prosecution of the war. At last, after much discussion, a convention of delegates from all the States agreed upon the Constitution that is at present enforced in the United States. This was framed in 1787, and was ratified by a sufficient number of States to put it fully in operation by 1789, when George Washington was inaugurated President. This Constitution is a system of political rights, privileges, and opportunities for all the States, for all the

individual citizens, and for the nation as a whole; it has been wonderfully successful in its practical operation. (See pages 105 to 108.)

Effect of Adoption of Constitution.—Its adoption was followed by a rapid revival of business, which had suffered almost as



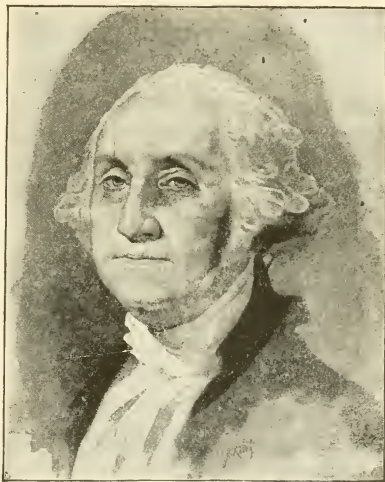
much from political troubles after the war was over as it had suffered from such troubles and from the military losses during the progress of the war.

Origin of our Government.—Our American government is a product of long and slow growth. Very little of it is origi-

nal with us. The most important original feature of American democracy is the complete separation of church and state; that is, of government and religion. This for years had been the dream and desire of many philosophers and statesmen of the Old World. Most of our principles and forms of government came with our first settlers from England. Among these were the principle of representation, the town meeting, and the county government. Most of the truths embodied in the Constitution came from England, though the idea itself of a Constitution as the fundamental law of the nation came from France. The secret ballot came from Holland.

42. The Administrations of Washington (1789-1797).—Early in the administration of our first President, the only one ever elected unanimously, there appeared two leaders, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson, who held opposing views regarding the Constitution of the United States. Hamilton was a Federalist who believed in a strong central government. Jefferson was a Democratic-Republican who believed in keeping the States and individuals strong and the nation relatively weak.

National Bank.—Hamilton, who was Secretary of the Treasury in the cabinet of Washington, persuaded Congress to assume the payment of all the debts of the old Confederation and of the States, that had been incurred in carrying on the Revolutionary War. To provide funds, taxes were levied on imported goods. A great national bank was



GEORGE WASHINGTON

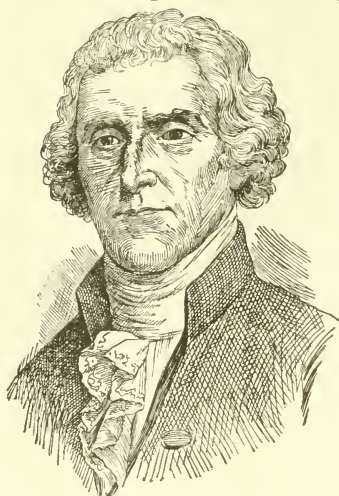
established to assist in carrying out the financial plans of the Federalists.

Foreign Affairs.—Washington successfully urged his principle of neutrality in all Old World disputes, so that aid was denied to France which (under a very different government) had helped us in the days of our war with England. Treaties were made with England and Spain.

Indian Wars and Whisky Insurrection.—General Anthony Wayne, a Revolutionary hero, subdued several Indian tribes beyond the Ohio. The national government, needing a regular and sufficient income, enforced an excise (whisky) tax, despite popular opposition.

43. The Administration of John Adams (1797-1801).—The next President was a strong Federalist. During his time there was much discussion regarding the rights and privileges of foreign-born citizens and the relative powers of the national and the State governments.

44. The Administrations of Thomas Jefferson (1801-1809).—Jefferson emphasized the importance of "States' rights" as

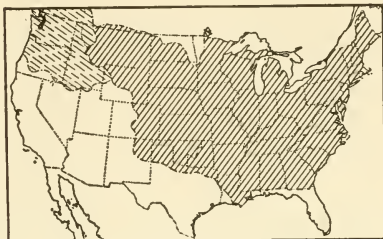


THOMAS JEFFERSON

the means of protecting and promoting the interests of the individual citizens. He believed in democracy rather than aristocracy, the rule of all by the majority rather than by the best.

Louisiana Purchase.—It was in 1803, in the administration of the first Democratic-Republican President, that we bought from Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul of France, the province of Louisiana, an area very much larger than that of the thirteen original colonies and equal to all that we had

owned up to the time of its purchase. The Louisiana province comprised nearly one million square miles, and cost \$15,000,000. This region included in its limits the area now occupied by the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, and large parts of Minnesota, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, and Oklahoma.



UNITED STATES IN 1803

Embargo Act.—Because of the great “Napoleonic wars” then raging between England and France, the President and Congress placed upon all American shipping an “embargo” that forbade our ships from clearing port for foreign lands, to prevent their seizure by war vessels of the great nations. This embargo nearly ruined our commerce.

The War with the Pirate States.—The first of the foreign wars of this country was with pirates who were protected by the half-civilized governments of Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli, the so-called Barbary States of northern Africa bordering on the Mediterranean Sea. They favored piracy as a means of national revenue and because many of their chief citizens were pirates. The European seamen were unable to conquer these African pirates; but in battle after battle on the high seas, we defeated the pirates and put an end to piracy which had existed for centuries. The final treaty abolished piracy in 1805. Among the heroes of this naval war were Bainbridge, Decatur, and Preble.

45. The Administrations of James Madison (1809-1817).—Two new leaders appeared early in the Presidency of Madison: one, Henry Clay of Kentucky, representing the “new West,” by which was meant the great region beyond the Appalachian Mountains; and the other, Daniel Webster, who soon became known as the great “expounder of the Constitution.”

Impressment of Seamen.—Because of the impressment of seamen, that is, taking by force from American vessels sailors of British birth, and because of other disputes with Great Britain, Clay urged the nation to enter upon a contest with the “mother country.”

War of 1812.—The real causes of the War of 1812 were European rather than American. England was fighting with France, then ruled by the great soldier Napoleon Bonaparte. On the sea Great Britain was supreme, but Napoleon had possession of the continent of Europe. France said that no other country should trade with Great Britain, and Great Britain said that no other country should trade with France. The Americans, as good men of business, wished to trade with both countries. The conditions of life on British naval vessels were so hard that sometimes whole crews of British citizens would desert to American vessels. These British subjects would then take out naturalization papers¹ as American citizens. Great Britain declared that a man was a citizen of the country in which he was born, and asserted the right to remove all deserters.

Heroes of the War.—Among the heroes of the War of 1812 were General (later President) William Henry Harrison, Commodore Lawrence, General (later President) Andrew Jackson, and Commodore Perry, who won a famous victory on Lake Erie.

Course of the War.—In the campaigns on land the Americans and the British were about equally successful, though the British seized the capital city, Washington, and partly burned it. The last great land battle was fought at New Orleans in 1815, after the treaty of peace had been signed.² On the sea the

¹ The United States has always been very friendly to foreign-born persons. The American principle that a man is a citizen of the country to which he attaches himself is not yet recognized as an international principle. The foreign idea is, once a Frenchman or an Englishman or a German, always a Frenchman or an Englishman or a German.

² Even as recently as 1815 it took a month or more for news to reach America from Europe. It took two weeks more for news to travel from Washington to New Orleans. The British and Americans would not have fought at New Orleans if the telegraph had been in existence at that time.

Americans were very much more successful than the British, and some of the greatest naval exploits in the world's history took place during the war.

Tariff of 1816.— In 1815 Napoleon, then Emperor of the French, was overthrown at the battle of Waterloo. This event was followed by great activity in English manufacturing. In 1816, to prevent our markets from being flooded by English products, an important tariff act was passed by Congress, imposing a duty on imported cotton and woolen goods.



PERRY'S VICTORY ON LAKE ERIE

46. The Administrations of James Monroe (1817-1825).— The last President who had taken part in the War of Independence was James Monroe, who, like Madison, was a political disciple of Jefferson.

Purchase of Florida.— In the year 1819, at the cost of \$5,000,000, we bought Florida from the Spanish government.

The Missouri Compromise.— During the period before the United States became an independent nation, the people both in the North and in the South owned slaves. In fact, they owned not only Negro slaves, but also white bondservants. The custom of holding whites in bondage was gradually dying

out, but that of holding Negroes continued. Negroes were especially valuable as agricultural workers in the Southern States, and in these States the entire industrial system finally came to be established upon the basis of Negro slavery. One result was that the Southern slave States wished other slave States to be admitted to the Union. In 1818 the Territory of Missouri desired admission as a slave State. The free-labor States were opposed to the admission of Missouri, but in 1820 a compromise, now known as the Missouri Compromise, was arranged by which Missouri came into the Union as a slave-labor State in 1821; but in all the rest of the Louisiana purchase north of 36° 30' slavery was prohibited. Maine came into the Union as a free-labor State in 1820.

Monroe Doctrine.—In 1823 the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed by the President. This was an announcement to the Old World that the United States would resent any interference by European powers in the affairs of the New World.

47. The Administration of John Quincy Adams (1825-1829).—The sixth President was the son of the second. During his administration there was constant factional strife. Adams could not be reëlected, but came back to Washington from Massachusetts as a member of the House of Representatives in Congress, where he did magnificent service in defending the right of petition in the interest of Negro freedom.

48. The Administrations of Andrew Jackson (1829-1837).—Four Presidents are usually regarded as having exerted especially great influence upon our political development, — Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln. Of these, Jackson represented the spirit of freedom, equality, and democracy developed in the “new West.” He believed that the majority of all the people rather than the best people should rule; that is, he believed in democracy rather than in aristocracy.

Webster on the Constitution.—In the eventful administration of Jackson, Webster expounded in the Senate his views as to the true meaning of the Constitution as an instrument upon which to establish a strong government for the nation.

Nullification in South Carolina.—In a State convention in 1832, South Carolina proclaimed the national tariff law null and void; but Jackson sent the navy and army to the State and compelled the people to obey the general government. The antislavery sentiment of the North, in which section Negro slavery, widespread before the Revolutionary War, had disappeared, now took definite form in the active measures of the Abolitionists.

Abolition of Bank of United States.—Perhaps the most important action taken by Jackson during his administrations was the abolition of the great National Bank, which in his judgment had become too influential in political affairs. The ruin of the Bank was followed by the development of State banks, some of which conducted their affairs so badly as to help bring on a general financial depression, known in our history as the “panic of 1837.”

49. The Administration of Martin Van Buren (1837-1841).—So sensitive had Congress now become regarding all questions of slavery that a resolution was passed to receive without debate all communications upon the subject. In this administration our present national treasury system was established.

50. The Administration of William Henry Harrison (1841).—The next President was a military hero of the War of 1812. He died after being but a month in office, a victim of the office seekers who preached and practiced the Jacksonian doctrine of “rotation in office.” Harrison was the first Whig to become President. The Whigs, like the Federalists, believed in a strong central government.

51. The Administration of John Tyler (1841-1845).—The new railroads, by making it easy for office seekers to get to Washington, were, in this sense, responsible for the succession of John Tyler, the Vice President, to the Presidency. In his time the Whigs carried through Congress a high protective tariff.

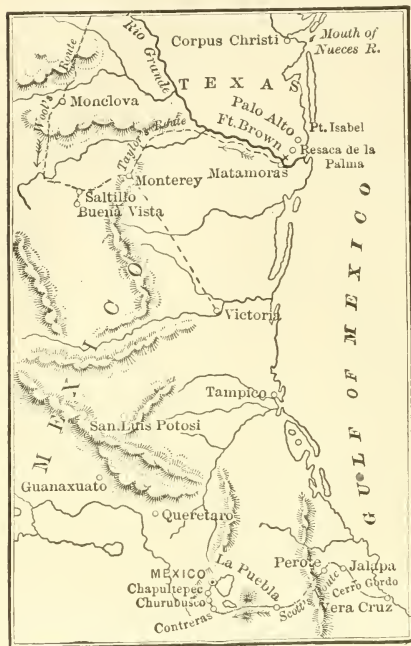
52. The Administration of James Knox Polk (1845-1849).—The success of the Democratic candidate, Polk, who

sympathized with the upholders of slavery against the Whig candidate Clay, the "great compromiser," was immediately followed by the admission into the Union of Texas, which had won its independence from Mexico. The resolution for the

annexation of Texas had been passed just before the close of Tyler's administration. The area annexed included besides the present State of Texas, more than half of New Mexico, and parts of Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas, and Oklahoma.

The Mexican War. —

In 1846, after the annexation of Texas, the people of the slave-labor States wished to extend their territory to the west and south. The President sent an army officer to dispute the southern boundary of Texas with the Mexicans. This led to the Mexican War.



MAP OF EASTERN MEXICO

Victory of the Americans. — The Southern leaders hoped to conquer Mexico and to take possession of a large part of its territory. The war with Mexico was of brief duration. The Americans won many battles, among the most famous being Buena Vista, Cerro Gordo, Contreras, and Churubusco. In September, 1847, General Scott took possession of the City of Mexico. The result of the war was that Mexico, in return for \$20,000,000, ceded to the United States a large portion of territory, which, with the second Mexican cession (the Gadsden

purchase of 1853) gave us the region where we have now California, Nevada, Arizona, Utah, and parts of Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico. Among the heroes of the Mexican War were General Winfield Scott and General Zachary Taylor.

Oregon Boundary Settlement. — In 1846 the Oregon boundary dispute with Great Britain was settled. From the Oregon country, which was acquired through American exploration

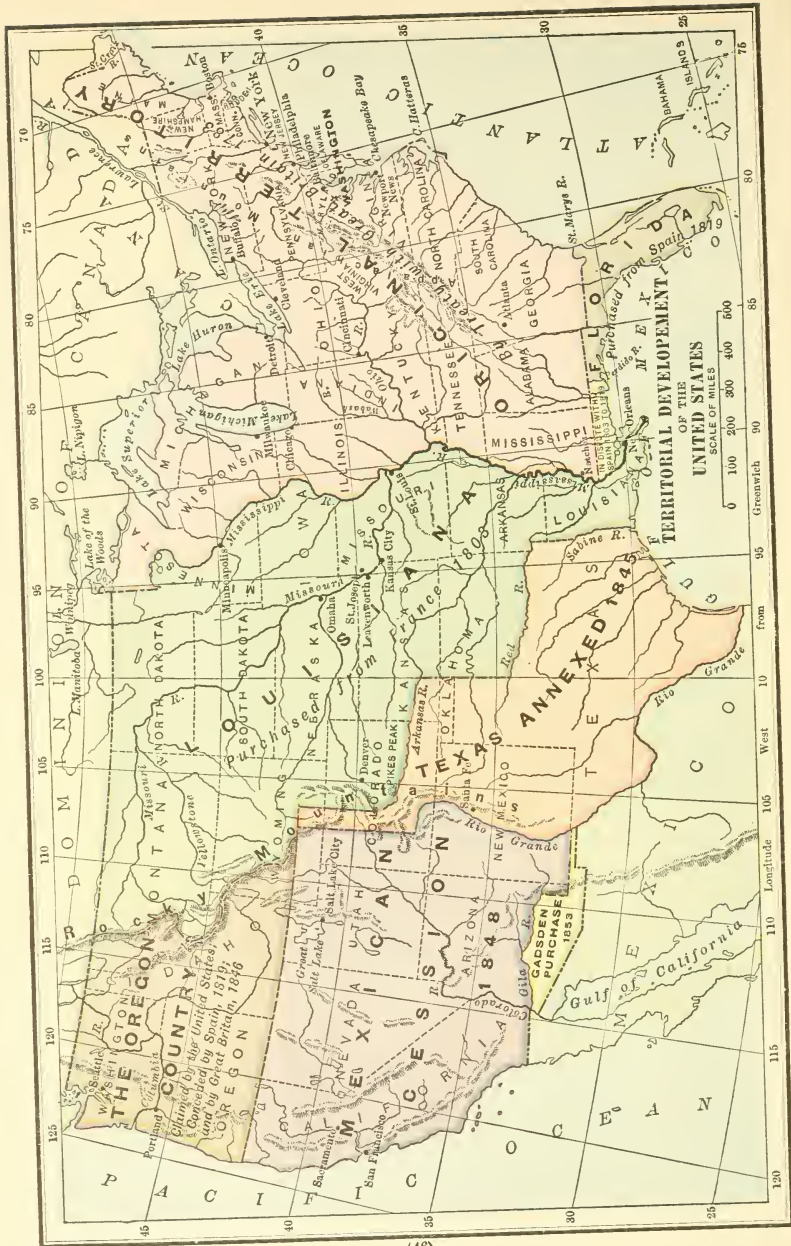


ENTRY OF GENERAL SCOTT INTO THE CITY OF MEXICO

and settlement, have been formed the States of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and parts of Montana and Wyoming.

Wilmot Proviso. — In the same year the Wilmot Proviso was first presented, — that no new territory of the United States should ever be open to slavery.

Squatter Sovereignty. — In 1848 the doctrine of “Squatter Sovereignty” was proclaimed by the Democratic Presidential candidate, Lewis Cass, — that the people of each Territory, before its admission into the Union as a State, should themselves decide by popular vote whether it should permit slavery.



53. The Administration of Zachary Taylor (1849-1850).—The next President was a hero of the Mexican War, a strong and able man, who died but a year after his inauguration.

54. The Administration of Millard Fillmore (1850-1853).—At the death of Taylor, the Vice President succeeded him. The most famous political measures of his time were the Compromise of 1850, which recognized the principle of "Squatter Sovereignty," and favored a Fugitive Slave Act, denying to runaway slaves the right of trial by jury and the right of *habeas corpus*. These measures marked the progress of the discussion regarding the presence and extension of slavery in the southern section of the country. In 1852 Webster and Clay, the great Whig leaders, both died; and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a famous antislavery novel, written by Harriet Beecher Stowe, was first published. In the South, as well as in the North, there was great anxiety as to the future of Negro slavery and its effect upon the industrial development and social life of the slave-holding section of our country.

55. The Administration of Franklin Pierce (1853-1857).—New political parties now began to appear. The Free-soilers set forth their principles of "free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men." In 1854 the Kansas-Nebraska Act, based on "Squatter Sovereignty," led to fearful conditions of riot and bloodshed, so that "Bleeding Kansas" became the theme of discussion throughout the nation. The Republican party was formed to include Free-soilers, Abolitionists, and the remaining Whigs. In 1856, however, the candidate of this reform party, General John C. Fremont, soldier and explorer, was defeated for the Presidency.

56. The Administration of James Buchanan (1857-1861).—In 1857 the Supreme Court of the United States declared in the Dred Scott case that a slave was personal property and could be carried into the free States without depriving his master of his right of ownership. The great debate between Douglas and Lincoln followed in Illinois. In it, Lincoln said: "I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave

and half free. . . It will become all one thing or all the other."

John Brown's Raid. — In 1859 John Brown, who had become famous for the part taken by him in the Kansas struggles, tried to start a Negro insurrection in Virginia, but was captured, condemned, and executed. His fanatical effort greatly angered the Southern slaveholders.

Secession of Southern States. — In 1860 all the political parties were greatly excited over the question of slavery, and the Democratic party was split into factions. The election of the Republican candidate, Abraham Lincoln, resulted in the secession of eleven of the Southern slave States from the Union, — South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee, in the period from December, 1860, to May, 1861. They framed a government called the Confederate States of America, of which Jefferson Davis was President.

Characteristics of the South and the North. — In this action, the differences between the Cavalier South and Puritan New England culminated. The South had grown aristocratic and fond of leisure, of power, and of good living, while the North, largely influenced by New England, had grown democratic, industrious, rich, and intolerant of the Southern social system.

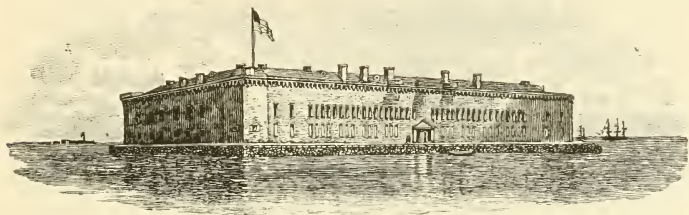
57. The Administration of Abraham Lincoln (1861-1865).
The War of Secession or the Civil War. — Of the slave States, four remained in the Union, — Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri. West Virginia seceded from Virginia, which had joined the Confederate States, and was admitted into the Union of States.

Attack on Fort Sumter. — In April, very soon after the inauguration of President Lincoln, the great Civil War, between the Confederacy and the Union, began in earnest, when Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, was attacked by the Confederates.

Call for Volunteers. — Immediately a call was issued for volunteers to defend the Union and to compel the seceded States

to recognize the authority of the government at Washington. Soon an army of Union soldiers was ready for the invasion of the Mississippi Valley, while another army was raised to meet the Confederates in Virginia. From this time until the last year of the war two campaigns were prosecuted,—one in the West and South, and the other in Virginia. The Union army went down the valley of the Mississippi, fighting tremendous battles with the Confederates, year after year.

1862.—In the early part of 1862 they captured Forts Donelson and Henry. In April was fought the great battle of Shiloh, Tennessee, which ended in a Union victory.



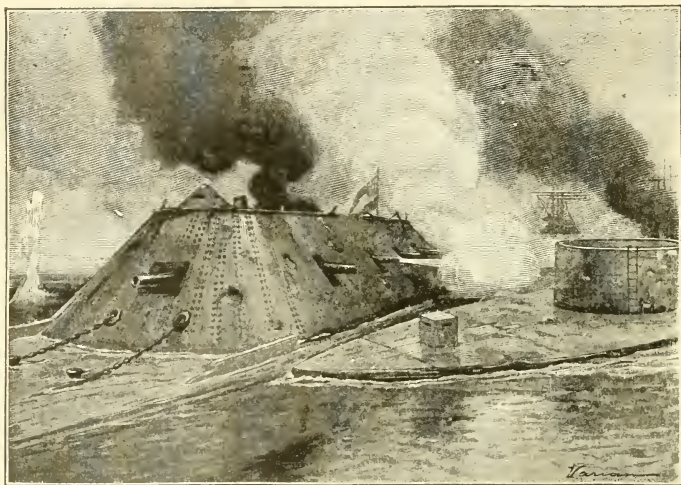
FORT SUMTER

The Merrimac and the Monitor.—On March 8, 1862, a terrific battle took place in Hampton Roads, Virginia, between the Confederate *Merrimac* and the Union *Monitor*, the first iron-clads ever used in naval warfare. The result was favorable to the Union cause.

1863.—On July 4, 1863, the great Southern fortress of Vicksburg on the Mississippi River was captured. Though the Union army suffered severe defeat by the Confederates at Chickamauga, Tennessee, they retreated to Chattanooga, where they won a brilliant victory under General Grant. The Union army then moved southeastward through the mountains, fighting many battles, until they reached Atlanta, Georgia.

1864.—From there, in 1864, Sherman led his army to Savannah, tearing up every railroad, and burning all the buildings for miles in every direction. The result of this Western and Southern campaign was to separate Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas,

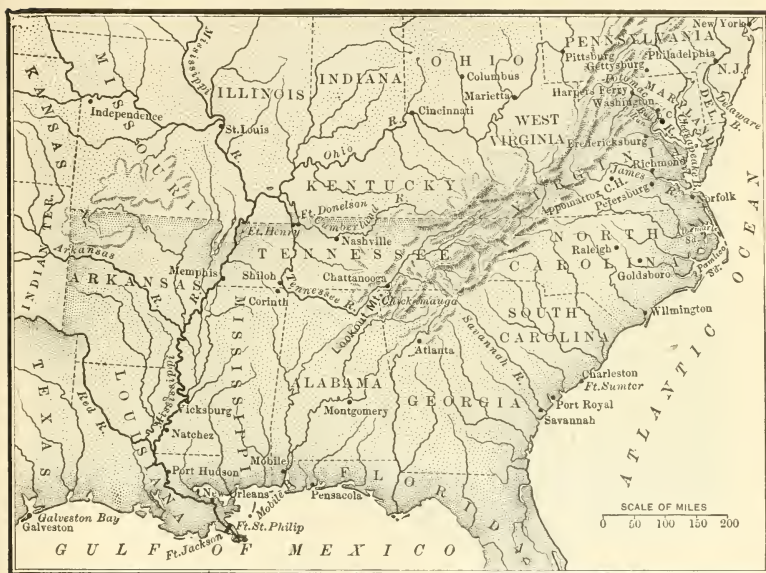
Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida from the Confederacy, and to paralyze agriculture and business throughout the entire region. Among the greatest battles was that of Nashville (December, 1864), where the Confederate army suffered so great a defeat by the Union army under Thomas that thereafter it was unable to accomplish anything in opposition to the Union forces.



MERRIMAC AND MONITOR

Campaign in Virginia, 1861-1865. — The campaign in Virginia was of a very different nature, for the armies again and again fought over the same territory; even more men were engaged here than in the Western and Southern campaign, and greater battles were fought. In July, 1861, the Union army suffered a great defeat at Bull Run, not far from Washington; and in the "Peninsular Campaign" in 1862 their attempt to capture the Confederate capital, Richmond, ended in failure. The Southern general, Robert E. Lee, then made an invasion of the North, but was stopped by the Union victory at Antietam, Maryland, in September, 1862. Two more attempts of the

Union army to advance on Richmond resulted in their defeat at Fredericksburg in December, 1862, and at Chancellorsville in May, 1863. On July 1, 2, and 3 of 1863, Lee's second invasion of the North was stopped by the tremendous battle of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, in which nearly one hundred thousand men were engaged on each side. Although Lee was defeated, the Confederate army in Virginia continued to fight for two years more.



THE CONFEDERATE STATES

Surrender of Lee.—Finally, after great battles in the Wilderness and the siege and capture of Richmond, General Lee was forced to surrender to General Grant at Appomattox Court House in Virginia in April, 1865. This ended the Civil War. It is much to the credit of the South that no rebel bands continued to fight in the mountains of Tennessee after the surrender of Lee. It is also to the credit of the soldiers on both

sides that, after the war was over, they returned to their homes and to such peaceful occupations as they could find.

Cost of the War. — The War of Secession was a costly one both in lives and in treasure. Nearly a million men perished in it, and many who survived were maimed or disabled for life. Pensions to the Union soldiers have already been paid to the amount of more than \$3,000,000,000, and the end is not yet. Soldiers' homes for both Union and Confederate soldiers have



SURRENDER OF GENERAL LEE

been built, the former by the national government, and the latter by the Southern States and by popular subscriptions. It is estimated that the cost of the war in money fell little short of \$10,000,000,000. This includes the large sums of money borrowed to help put State troops in the field, and the great loss of the Southern States, by the destruction of buildings and other property.

Emancipation of Slaves. — The South lost also the value of \$2,000,000,000 in slaves set free by President Lincoln's Eman-

cipation Proclamation in 1863. Their freedom was confirmed by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States adopted in 1865, 1868, and 1870. (See p. 108.)

Effects of the War.— Yet the conflict was inevitable and its result has been almost wholly for the good of the American people. It has spread the system of free labor over the entire Union, and has made the United States one nation, indivisible in fact as it was in theory before the war. Especially for the South the war was really a blessing, though in frightful disguise, for Negro slavery prevented industrial progress, since slave labor does not stimulate inventive genius and cannot compete successfully with free labor in mills and factories. Even the agricultural conditions of the South are far better to-day than they were before the war was fought, for as a wage-earner the Negro is more profitable to his employer than he was as a slave to his owner.

Other Affairs.— In the administration of Lincoln national banks were established, to assist in carrying on the affairs of the general government and also in developing the business of the country. The foreign affairs were greatly complicated because several European nations were disposed to assist the Confederacy to establish itself as an independent nation. The diplomacy of the minister to England, Charles Francis Adams, and the oratory of Henry Ward Beecher, who from the platform appealed to the English people to encourage the Union in setting free the Negro slaves, prevented recognition of the Confederacy by Great Britain,



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Assassination of Lincoln. — On April 14, 1865, the President was assassinated; and the Vice President succeeded to his office.

58. The Administration of Andrew Johnson (1865-1869). — After the war was over, a great political problem confronted the statesmen of the nation. This was the problem of the method in which the former Confederate States should resume their places in Congress and in government affairs. Some people thought that Congress should require each State to apply for admission as though it were a new State. Others, following the opinion of Lincoln, thought that the States should be encouraged to resume their former places in the Union in every respect as though they had never seceded. Unfortunately, a third set of leaders secured power in the government; so that in the Southern States, for many years afterward, the Southern whites who had not fought in Confederate armies and the newly freed Negroes had almost absolute power. To this Southern side were added some Northern men known as "carpet-baggers," who went to the South solely for the sake of getting public offices. In this wretched way, the political reconstruction of the South was carried on.

Industrial Condition of the South. — After the war the industrial and agricultural affairs were in almost equally unfortunate condition with the political. At present, however, the South is progressive and prosperous, and its industrial conditions are much like those of the North, except for differences in climate and the presence of many Negroes in the population.

Purchase of Alaska. — In 1867 we purchased Alaska from Russia, at a cost of \$7,200,000.

Pacific Railroad. — In 1869 the first railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific was completed. This was a political as well as a business tie between the West and the East.

59. The Administrations of Ulysses Simpson Grant (1869-1877). — Early in the first administration of Grant, an international Court of Claims, meeting at Geneva, awarded damages of \$15,500,000 payable by Great Britain to the United States

because she had permitted several cruisers to be built and fitted out in her ports by the Confederacy, to attack Union merchant vessels upon the high seas.

Centennial Exposition. — In 1876, one hundred years after the Declaration of Independence, there was held in Philadelphia the Centennial Exposition, to celebrate the independence of the United States. There had been other expositions before this, but their effect was by no means so great upon the national welfare. This exposition did much to encourage invention and scientific discovery in the United States, and brought together people from all sections.



ULYSSES S. GRANT

Election of Hayes. — During the terms of Grant there was much dissatisfaction in the North over the corruption in the government of the nation and of certain cities, especially New York. Even greater dissatisfaction existed in the South over the corruption and incompetence of the State governments. The popular disapproval of the conditions of our government led to a very exciting presidential campaign in 1876. The opposing candidates were Samuel J. Tilden, a Democrat, and Rutherford B. Hayes, a Republican. In the election the Democrats polled a much larger popular vote than the Republicans; but a great dispute arose as to which had a majority in the Electoral College.¹ This was finally settled, in favor of the Republicans, by a special Electoral Commission.

60. The Administration of Rutherford Birchard Hayes (1877-1881). — Early in his administration, Hayes withdrew the

¹ See p. 73.

Federal troops that had been stationed in South Carolina and elsewhere ever since the Civil War. This popular act marked the end of the reconstruction of the Southern States by military force.

Railroad Strike.—In 1877 a railroad strike in Pittsburg led to riot, and marked the beginning of strife and violence in this country between capital and labor.

Return to Sound Money.—The United States government had been so greatly burdened by the debt of the Civil War that, until 1879, it was compelled to maintain a currency of paper money without actual redemption value in gold and silver. Then it became able once more to pay its obligations in money of intrinsic (real) value as metal. This great event did much to promote domestic business and international trade; for, after this time, the standard money of the United States was standard everywhere else, as it had always been up to the time of the financial disaster of the Civil War.

61. The Administration of James Abram Garfield (1881).—The next President was an able and genial man, who fell by the hand of a political “crank” July 2, 1881, before he had been able to render that service to his country for which he was admirably fitted by his talents, education, and experience.

62. The Administration of Chester Alan Arthur (1881–1885).—The important events of the administration of the fourth President who succeeded from the Vice Presidency were the passage of a civil service reform law, which made merit the sole qualification for office, a reduction in the tariff below the high rates which had prevailed since the Civil War, and an act suspending for ten years the immigration of Chinese laborers.

63. The First Administration of Grover Cleveland (1885–1889).—From 1861 to 1885, all the Presidents were Republicans. The new President was a Democrat. In his first term, Congress passed acts to regulate interstate commerce and to fix the presidential succession in the event of the death of both the President and Vice President.

64. The Administration of Benjamin Harrison (1889-1893).—

The next President was a grandson of William Henry Harrison, and a Republican. In his term there was legislation by Congress concerning silver as legal tender money and regarding the tariff. The law concerning the exclusion of Chinese laborers was reenacted for another ten-year period.

65. The Second Administration of Grover Cleveland (1893-1897).—

In 1893 a commercial panic set in, caused in part by the unwise legislation regarding silver. The President persuaded Congress to pass a tariff bill reducing charges upon imports. An act establishing a national income tax was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court.¹

World's Columbian Exposition.—In 1893 there was held at Chicago an exposition to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus. This Columbian Exposition was the greatest to that time in the history of the world, and showed to what heights the United States and the other great nations of the earth had attained in the course of their progress in civilization.

66. The Administration of William McKinley (1897-1901).—

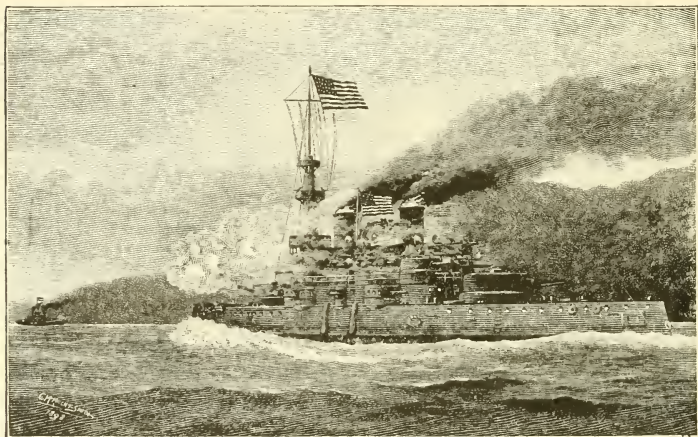
Early in his first administration, the President called a special session of Congress which passed an improved tariff act. This greatly benefited American business.

Causes of the American-Spanish War.—The vast empire of Spain in North America and South America had long been dwindling in area until, in 1898, all the territories that she owned were the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, southeast of the United States. Spain treated the Cubans so cruelly that they were constantly in rebellion against the government. The rebellion of 1895 had continued for three years with detriment to American commerce and investments in Cuba. Further-

¹ In both nation and State, throughout the United States, the constitutions of nation and State make the supreme law. These are interpreted by the Supreme Courts of the United States and of the various States. An act passed by Congress or a State Legislature is not a law when the Supreme Court declares that it violates some constitutional provision.

more, the moral sentiments of the Americans were shocked by the cruelty of the Spaniards toward the Cubans. At last the United States government and people, especially angered by the destruction of our battleship *Maine* in Havana harbor, declared war.

Manila and Santiago.—Admiral Dewey speedily took Manila, the capital of the Spanish islands of the Philippines, far away in the Pacific Ocean. An invading army was sent to Santiago, Cuba, while a naval squadron blockaded the coast of



THE OREGON AT SANTIAGO

the islands. There, in a great naval fight with the Spanish war vessels, the Americans were as successful as they had been at Manila. Santiago was then quickly taken by the American land forces.

Results of the War.—The result of this war was that Spain abandoned Cuba, surrendered Porto Rico and the island of Guam as a war indemnity, and in consideration of the sum of \$20,000,000 ceded the Philippine Islands to the United States. For a time the United States maintained government in Cuba; but in 1902 the island became an independent republic under our protection in international affairs.

Hawaii and Tutuila.—In 1898 we annexed the Hawaiian Islands, and in 1900 they were erected into a territory of the United States. In 1900 Tutuila and some neighboring islands in the Pacific became the property of the United States by treaty with Germany and Great Britain.

Interference in China.—In 1900 our government took a very prominent and successful part in the international troubles in China, where great mobs arose to drive out all foreigners.

Assassination of McKinley.—Early in McKinley's second term, at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, September, 1901, the President was assassinated by a foreign-born citizen who had never enjoyed the advantages of our public schools, and had never learned that our President directs the affairs of the nation in accordance with the will of the people and for their best welfare.

67. The Administrations of Theodore Roosevelt (1901-1909).—Again a Vice President succeeded to the Presidency. The chief acts of his administration were the suppression of native insurrections in the Philippines, the establishment there of American control and education, the encouragement of the Cuban Republic, the settlement of a great controversy between capital and labor in the coal mines of Pennsylvania, arrangements for the completion by the United States of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, and the recognition of the republic of Panama. The law concerning the exclusion of Chinese laborers was reenacted for another ten-year period, and was applied also to the islands belonging to the United States.

Louisiana Purchase Exposition.—In 1904 a magnificent exposition was conducted at St. Louis to celebrate the centennial anniversary of our purchase of Louisiana.

Gold Standard.—In the presidential campaigns of 1896, 1900, and 1904 the adoption by this nation of the single gold standard for its currency was determined by the defeat of the opponents of this single standard at the polls in the first two campaigns and in the Democratic presidential convention in the last campaign.

The Administration of William Howard Taft (1909-1913). — A tax was levied upon the net earnings of corporations. There was much discussion of conservation, which means the saving of forests, mines, waterpowers, etc., for the public benefit.

The Administration of Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921). — In 1913, Congress levied a general income tax, and reformed our banking and currency systems. In 1914, the Panama Canal was completed. During civil war in Mexico, our country, though provoked in many ways, remained strictly neutral.

In 1916 we purchased the Virgin Islands from Denmark for \$25,000,000.

In 1914, the World War began that continued through more than four years of tremendous struggles. Many millions of fighting men took part upon each side. Though from the beginning, because of the outrages of the Germans in Belgium, France, and Poland, and of the Turks in Armenia, our sympathies were with the Allies, for two years our country tried to remain technically neutral. But the persistent attacks of German submarines upon all trading vessels and the shameless trickery of pro-German propagandists were crowned in February, 1917, by an order of the German Government to us that we should have but one ship a week each way between America and England for all traffic. We entered the war, sent more than two million soldiers to the fighting front over seas, and by magnificent performances in battle aided the Allies to final victory in November, 1918. Our President then went to Europe to help arrange the treaty of peace.

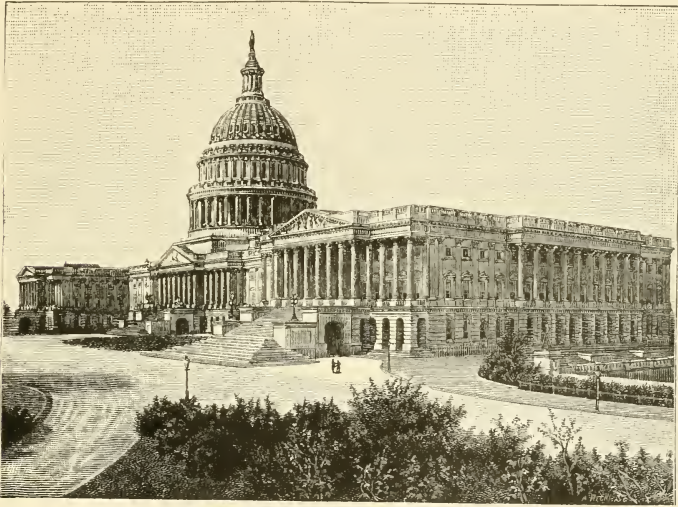
During Wilson's second term the eighteenth and nineteenth amendments to the Constitution were adopted, providing for prohibition and for equal suffrage.

The Administration of Warren Gamaliel Harding (1921-) — When ex-Senator Harding assumed the Presidency in 1921, America stood first among the nations in prestige and was more devoted than ever to democracy.

PART III

GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENSHIP

68. The Rights of the Citizen.—Every man, woman, and child born in the United States, or naturalized in accordance with the provisions of the laws of the nation and of any State, has rights and duties which are the result of our national history. This country is a representative democracy, in which each citizen is meant to be equal before the law with every



THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON

other citizen, and in which no man inherits more rights, offices, duties, or obligations in state or church than those of any other person. Each man has equal rights with every other man to think, speak, and act freely, to buy and sell property, to hold office, and to vote upon questions of government.

Enumeration of Rights. — An American citizen has the right to be considered innocent before he is proved guilty; that is, he has the right to a jury trial and to be represented by counsel in the courts. He cannot be imprisoned without a hearing except for such crimes as murder and arson, when the evidence is strongly against him. Even then, by reason of the *habeas corpus* law, he has the right to a speedy trial before a jury of his equals. Further, he has the right to be protected by the police and militia in his property, and in his person from assault and battery. These rights were not secured without struggles through centuries. Down till 1865 Negro slaves were sometimes treated with brutality and were practically without legal rights. By reason of his constitutional rights, the citizen is a free man; his house must not be searched or even entered except by due warrant at law, which protects him from personal harm.

69. The Duties of the Citizen. — The citizen has certain duties prescribed by law and others prescribed by morals and common custom. It is the duty of the citizen to take up arms for his country when it is invaded by foreign enemies or when domestic peace is broken by riot and mob violence. As the citizen has the right to be protected from others who would do him harm, so he has the duty of protecting others from harm. It is the citizen's duty to serve on juries for the trial of criminal offenses. Such are some of his legal duties.

Duties as a Voter. — Morally it is the duty of the citizen to vote at all elections and to attend the party primaries in which candidates are nominated for office. It is his duty to equip himself to vote intelligently upon public questions. To do this, he needs to study the history of our country, the principles of our government, and the actual questions before the community, the State, or the nation.

Public Office. — It is the duty of the citizen to take public office when regularly nominated and elected to such office. It is good government in America that makes property secure and valuable; and it is the duty of a citizen to serve that govern-

ment, when requested to do so by a majority of his fellow-men, in any office for which his talents fit him, unless some other and greater public duty already claims his time and effort.

Public Zeal.—It is the duty of the citizen to resist all acts and measures by which the public welfare is endangered or the rights of any of his fellow-citizens are infringed. It is his duty to know the facts regarding his city government, its officials, its expenditures, and its policies. The American citizen, therefore, has not only many rights, but also many duties.

70. Naturalization.—The term "citizen," in American government, is used in two different senses. Sometimes it means any person—man, woman, or child—born in this country. As far as property holding is concerned, women have nearly the same rights as men. Children, as well as men and women, have the right to the protection of our flag, wherever they go, in any part of the world. All these people have equal rights to the protection of their property and their person.

Qualifications of Voters.—The word "citizen" is, however, often used with a different meaning, as the equivalent of "voter." To be a voter one must be twenty-one years of age. and there are certain other qualifications which vary in the different States, such as length of residence, ability to read and write, payment of a poll tax, and registration. The nineteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, adopted in 1920, provides equal suffrage for men and women.

Laws of Naturalization.—Our country introduced a new principle in international affairs by permitting the natives of other countries to come here and to be naturalized as citizens. The laws with regard to naturalization are uniform in all the States. At least five years' residence in the United States is necessary, together with a declaration of intention to become a citizen two years before the citizenship papers are issued. Once naturalized, the foreign-born citizen has the same rights as the native citizen, with the single exception that he cannot be elected President of the United States.

71. The Ballot. — The right to vote and the duty to vote thoughtfully are among the most important features of American citizenship. Elections are held in accordance with regular provisions of the Constitution of the United States and of the constitution of each particular State. Usually one year's residence within a particular State is required before a citizen of another State may vote in the State into which he has moved. In every State the ballot is now secret, so that no influence can be brought to bear upon the voter by an employer, a creditor, or any other person. The Australian system of voting, by which a voter marks his ballot in a private booth, and the operation of a voting machine behind a curtain, have been accepted as the best methods of voting.

72. Office Holding. — A successful candidate for office enters upon the duties of that office in accordance with the requirements of the constitutions and statute laws of the nation and State. His first duty is to inform himself as to the duties of the office and as to the condition of its business affairs. It is then his obligation to his constituents, who include those who voted against him as well as those who voted for him, to perform the duties of his office for the best welfare of his whole community. Once an office holder, public business should be considered as preceding in importance any kind of private business. The office holder ought to carry on the business of his office conscientiously and impartially. It is greatly to the credit of most American office holders that they are honest and industrious in the performance of their duties. Good government depends quite as much upon good men in office as upon the laws that they are elected or appointed to carry out.

73. Town or Township Meeting. — In the New England States and in certain other States, town meetings are often maintained to carry out the principles of pure democracy, that is, to bring the government as near the people as possible. At these town meetings, annual and special, the citizens discuss and settle, usually by ballot, all local public measures. If the town meeting were practicable in all circumstances, it would

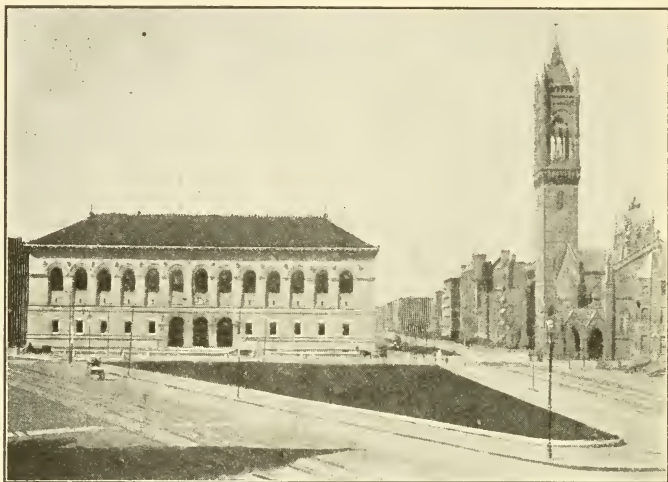
be the ideal method for making all laws and electing all officers; but the limits of the town meeting are very narrow. At most, not over a few hundred men can gather together in public meeting and debate and deliberate calmly and judicially. Large meetings are apt to be swayed, now this way and now that, by excessive popular enthusiasm. In great cities, meetings of all the interested citizens in one place are impossible. The town meetings are decreasing in number because of the growth of communities. Local problems now require fixed policies of government and continuous policies supported systematically by parties.

74. County Government. — The powers of county government and of local government differ greatly in various parts of the country. The county in New England is of very much less importance than it is in Virginia. Generally, counties have charge of the roads, the hospitals, the paupers, and the criminals.

75. City Government. — Cities usually grow from towns. When the system of town government has become inadequate for a community, the city is established either in accordance with general State laws, or in accordance with a specific charter granted by the State. Usually, cities undertake, in addition to the governmental duties of towns, some of the duties of counties. Occasionally, a city is partly within one county and partly within another. Usually, however, like the town, it is within the county jurisdiction. The conditions of life are so much more complicated in cities than in towns that the large cities must undertake many things not required of towns. The large cities must have streets paved with stone, brick, or asphalt, and sewers carrying off the waste of households and factories. They must have a large police force. They need such public buildings as city halls, hospitals, fire houses, libraries, and great schoolhouses.

Complexity of City Government. — The departments to be administered by a modern city government are so numerous as to make a business quite as complicated as that of the greatest commercial enterprises. Large cities raise by taxes

many millions of dollars a year, all of which should be expended economically and wisely. The city has hundreds and even thousands of employees, such as school teachers, firemen, and policemen; and these employees range in ability from the common unskilled laborer to the chief of police, the expert city engineer, the school superintendent, and the mayor.

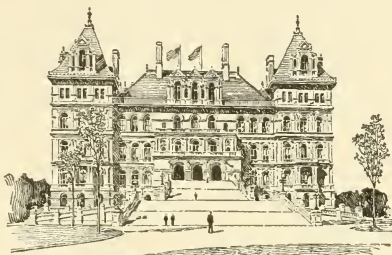


PUBLIC LIBRARY, BOSTON

Functions of City Government. — The city touches the life of the individual American at many points. It educates him in the public schools; if he is poor, it cares for him in sickness; it protects him in his person and property; it looks out for his health by the various resources of the health department and by city ordinances relating to garbage, sewers, and public nuisances; it licenses the drivers of vehicles that transport him and his goods; it maintains firemen and fire apparatus to protect his home from destruction by fire; it lends him books at the public library; and if he dies penniless, it buries him decently in the public grounds of the cemetery.

76. State Government. — Of all the governments to which the individual citizen is subject, the most important and the most extensive in the range of its jurisdiction is that of the State, which makes nine out of ten of the laws by which the citizen is governed.

Functions of State Government. — The State by its Legislature determines most of the rights and duties of the citizen. It determines the religious rights of the citizen; it provides for his education; it regulates the ballot; it prescribes the rules of marriage, and the legal relations of husband and wife and of parent and child; it defines what power the employer has over his employee, the master over his servant, the business man over his agent; it regulates the affairs of partners, of debtors and creditors; it makes the laws for the inheritance



CAPITOL BUILDING, ALBANY, N. Y.

of property, for its sale and purchase, and for the renting and leasing and mortgaging of property; it decides the conditions for business contracts and for the hiring of labor; it enforces nearly all the laws regarding crime and civil injuries between man and man; it legislates regarding the poor and the insane, and takes care of criminals convicted of serious offenses; it requires the building and maintenance of roads and schools; it decides upon what conditions corporations may be established, — municipal, public, and private. The municipal corporations include cities and incorporated towns, villages, and boroughs. The public corporations include railroads and street railways, gas companies, and water companies, requiring rights of way over land. The private corporations include fire and life insurance companies and all companies engaged in business in accordance with charters granted to them by the State government.

Our State Government is Unique. — In many respects our national government is not unlike that of certain nations in Europe. European cities, too, are governed very much as are our American cities. The counties and parishes of England are not unlike those in various parts of the United States. But to the American State government, no government in Europe exactly or even closely corresponds. There was a time in the history of our country when many citizens felt that they owed allegiance to their State rather than to the United States. It was this feeling that caused the great body of Southerners to support their leaders in the effort to establish the Confederate States. Many Southerners did not believe in slavery, but all of them believed in State patriotism. In the American scheme of government, counties and towns are little more than convenient forms for subdividing the State for purposes of local government. The county and the town or city are directly dependent upon the State government for all their rights and privileges.

State Constitution. — Every State has a written constitution, modeled after the Constitution of the United States, with which it may not conflict.

Departments. — The State government consists of three departments: the legislative, which makes the laws; the executive, which enforces them; and the judicial, which explains and applies them.

State Legislature. — The Legislature of every State consists of two Houses. The higher is called the Senate; the lower is variously called the Assembly, the General Assembly, the House, the House of Representatives, or the House of Delegates.

The Governor. — The head of the executive department is the governor of the State, who, in all but one State, has also a veto on legislation. The governor is commander in chief of the State militia.

Courts. — In the judicial departments, the highest court is sometimes called the Court of Appeals and sometimes the Supreme Court, beneath which are inferior courts of more or

less extended jurisdictions. The highest court is chiefly engaged in trying cases in which appeals have been taken from the decisions of the lower courts. It has the duty of interpreting the State constitution and of deciding whether the laws passed by the Legislature are or are not constitutional. (See note, p. 57.)

Miscellaneous Boards. — In addition to these three regular departments of the State government, there are usually various commissioners appointed by the Legislature or by the governor for various purposes, such as the State Board of Education and the State Board of Health, whose duties are indicated by their titles.

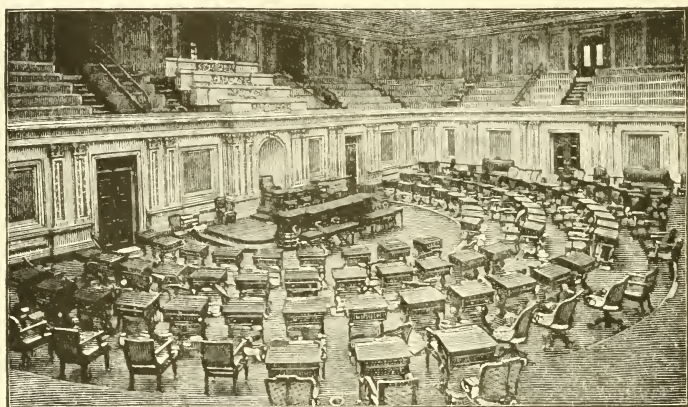
77. Government of Territories and Colonies. — In addition to its States, the United States has certain regions with carefully defined boundaries, known as the Territories. All of the States of the United States, except the thirteen "Original States" (including Maine, Vermont, Kentucky, and West Virginia) and California and Texas, were Territories before they became States. A Territory is ruled by a governor who is appointed by the President of the United States, with the consent of the Senate, but it elects its own Legislature and sends to Congress its own delegate, who has the right to serve upon committees and to debate, but not the right to vote. In many respects, the organization of Territories is very much like that of States. As soon as a Territory has secured a reasonably large population and its people have reached some degree of culture, civilization, and morality, the Territory upon its own application may be received by Congress into the Union as a State.

Government of Dependencies. — In addition to the Territories and to the District of Columbia, which is governed directly by Congress, there are now several colonies belonging to the United States. The most important of these are Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands. These are governed much like a Territory; but the powers of the colonial legislature are more limited, and Congress exercises greater control. The colonies stand in a very different relation to the Union from that in which the Territories stand, since they are only to a

limited extent self-governing. The Porto Ricans have been made citizens of the United States,¹ but the Filipinos have not.

78. National Government.—Over all the States, Territories, and colonies is the national government, which, like the State governments, consists of three branches,—legislative, executive, and judicial.

Congress.—The Legislature of the United States is composed of two Houses, an upper House called the Senate, and a lower House called the House of Representatives. This national Legislature is called the Congress, or the meeting of the dele-



SENATE AT WASHINGTON

gates from the different States. The senators represent the State and the representatives the people. Congress makes the laws subject to veto by the President. This veto may itself be annulled by a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress. The powers and duties of Congress are prescribed by the Constitution of the United States. All powers and duties not expressly given to Congress by the Constitution are reserved to the States. Congress has, however, many very important powers,

¹ For the names of the States, Territories, and colonies of the United States, see pp. 10–13.

such as providing for the national defense, coining money and fixing the standards of weights and measures, maintaining the national mail service, borrowing money, and levying and collecting taxes. The President and the Senate together make treaties with foreign nations and appoint office-holders to many offices. Most of the national office appointments are made now in accordance with civil service provisions, requiring proof of special fitness by competitive examinations.

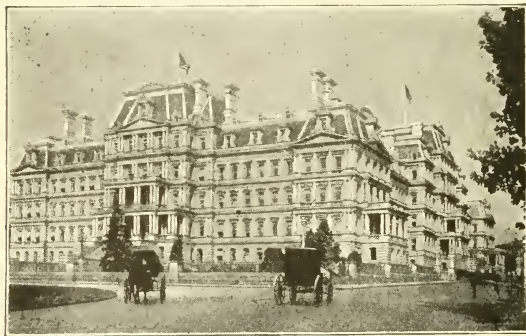
Senators and Representatives. — Senators of the United States are elected by the voters of the different States.¹ Each State sends two senators. Members of the House of Representatives are elected by districts, each State having one or more representatives. At the present time, the average number of constituents to each representative is a little more than two hundred thousand. Consequently, the State of Delaware sends one member to the House of Representatives, while New York sends forty-three. There are 435 representatives in all. In addition, each territory sends a delegate.

United States Courts. — The courts of the United States include the Supreme Court and many inferior courts. These courts deal with questions of law arising between citizens of the different States. As with the Supreme Courts in the different States, so with the Supreme Court of the United States, the most important duty is to interpret the meaning of the Constitution. The Supreme Court of the United States is the most powerful law court in the world, for it decides whether a bill passed by Congress or by any one of the States is or is not in accordance with the Constitution; and when it is not in accordance with the Constitution, the Supreme Court of the United States will not interpret it as a law. Therefore, the Supreme Court of the United States is the supreme governing body. It has final control in all matters save that amendments to the Constitution may be proposed by Congress or by a convention of delegates from all the States. Such amendments, when

¹ Before 1913 the senators from each State were elected by the Legislature of the State.

ratified by the Legislatures or by conventions in three fourths of the States, become valid as parts of the Constitution. The nine Justices of the Supreme Court are appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Many circuit and district courts are also maintained by the national government.

The President and the Cabinet. — The President is at the head of the executive or administrative branch of the government. His duties in this branch are so much more extensive than his legislative power in vetoing acts of Congress that the President's term of office is usually called "an administration." For convenience, the administrative branch of the national government is divided into ten departments with a secretary at the head of each. The ten secretaries form the Cabinet of the President. Like the Justices of the Supreme Court, these heads of departments are all appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. They have no powers in their departments other than those delegated to them by the President. Their two general duties are to carry out his direc-



STATE DEPARTMENT BUILDING, WASHINGTON

tions in relation to their departments and to advise him regarding the affairs of their own departments and of the government as a whole. The ten departments are

State, Treasury, War, Justice, Post Office, Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor.

Functions of the Departments. — The State Department deals with the international affairs of the United States, arranges

treaties, and maintains diplomatic relations with foreign nations. The Treasury deals with the money affairs, regulates the national banks, and collects the customs duties upon imports. The Department of Justice, presided over by the Attorney-General, takes charge of the legal matters in which the United States is concerned. The Department of the Interior has charge of pensions, public lands, Indian affairs, patents, education, and the geological survey. The Post Office Department manages the national mail service, which extends to every city, town, and hamlet of the land, and communicates with foreign countries. The duties of the Departments of War, of the Navy, of Agriculture, of Commerce, and of Labor are those suggested by their titles. These departments govern this nation in many other ways not stated here for want of space.

Taxes. — Most of the revenue of the United States is derived from the taxation of merchandise of various kinds. Taxes are levied upon many kinds of goods imported at the seacoast cities of the East and West, and at the land borders north and south of the United States. Taxes are also levied upon beer, whisky, and tobacco manufactured in the United States. Minor taxes are raised by imposts and tariffs levied in various other ways.

Presidential Election. — The President of the United States is elected by an Electoral College whose members are called electors and are chosen every four years. Each State has as many electors in the Electoral College as it has representatives and senators together. Thus, Delaware had three electors and New York had forty-five at the presidential election of 1912. Electors are nominated by party conventions held in the States for that purpose. The names of the State electors of each party are printed on the ballot under the name of the party, and these electors are voted for by the people. Those who receive the greatest number of votes are elected, and are expected to vote in the following January for the candidate of the party they represent.

79. The Nature of our Government. — The United States government is like a board of arbitration to maintain perpetual

peace between the different States. For the sake of this perpetual peace and of free trade among themselves, the States have surrendered to the central government various rights belonging only to independent nations.

Effect of the Constitution.—As soon as the Revolutionary War began on the part of the thirteen colonies of England, it became evident that it would be impossible for thirteen separate nations to exist peaceably together on this side of the Atlantic Ocean. At the beginning of that war, these colonies were not very friendly to one another, but the English government compelled them to remain at peace. After the war was over, some of the States set up tariffs to prevent the citizens of other States from trading with them freely. Perfect peace and absolute free trade between the States were established by the Constitution in 1787. Though the national government has charge of the general affairs of all the millions of people who live in the United States, the State, by its laws, comes most closely to the individual citizen. (See p. 67.)

80. The United States in Comparison with Other Nations.—We have followed the history of the United States from the discovery of the New World by Columbus to the present time, in which it has become one of the great world powers, and we have studied the government of the United States, national, State, county, and city. What are the points of resemblance and difference between the United States government and that of other nations of the world?

England.—In some respects England is more democratic than our country. When the English government is no longer satisfactory to a majority of the House of Commons, its head officers must resign, and the members of the House of Commons must appeal to their constituents for reëlection. Public opinion governs even more directly in England than in the United States.

France.—France is a republic like ours in form, but the central government of France controls all the details of government in every part of France. This is as though Congress

should decide whether or not a street should be built in this or that city of our country. France is a much more highly centralized nation than ours. There is no subordinate governing institution in France corresponding with our individual State. The head officers, or ministers, of the French government hold their position upon much the same conditions as those of England.

Germany. — Since the kaiser was forced to abdicate his throne at the end of the World War (1918) Germany has had a republican form of government with a president who is elected by the people. Both men and women have the right to vote. The president is assisted by a cabinet, appointed by him, and there are two legislative bodies which are made up of representatives elected from the various states. The president of Germany is elected for a period of seven years whereas the President of the United States holds office for only four years at a time. Our President may be reelected but in the entire history of our country no President has served more than eight years.

Foreign City Governments. — Our city governments correspond more closely with the city governments of Europe than does our national government with theirs. This similarity is especially noticeable in the case of English cities. But, in general, the cities of England undertake more for their citizens than do the American cities. Many of these foreign cities not only maintain parks, schools, libraries, streets, water service, police service, and fire houses for their citizens, as we do in the United States, but also build houses for them and provide many other things.

All together, the conditions of life in America make the American citizen more free and independent than in any other land. Self-government and self-support by individual effort, without direct or indirect dependence upon others, are the standards of American life.

81. Democracy and Freedom. — A citizen of the United States is a voter in his town or his municipality, in his county, in his State, and in the nation. Often he is a voter in a school district separate from his municipality. He is partly a subject

and partly a ruler in four or five governments, one within another. The essential feature of the American system of government is that the citizen governs himself either directly or through a representative in whose election he has a part. The control of government is secured either by a majority or a plurality of votes. A majority of votes means more than one half, and a plurality of votes means more than any other party or person has received.

Meaning of "Republic" and "Democracy."—We call our country the land of representative democracy or of republicanism. In a pure democracy the majority of the voters rule directly. Such a democracy is that of a town meeting. In a representative democracy the people select those who shall rule them by voting for them indirectly through representatives. A republic is a land in which the people rule either by pure democracy or by representative democracy. In such a country no man may inherit any office of government. In government and in religion, by far the most important concerns of mankind, every American is equal to every other in rights and opportunities. This means that before the law one man is as good as another until he has been convicted of being evil. It means that no private citizen can dictate to another, and even the rulers can rule only as long as the people maintain them in office; and they rule then only in respect to those matters concerning which the law directs them to rule. In all these respects America is the most fortunate country in the world.

82. Duties of Public Officers.—When a man is installed in office, he takes charge of the duties of that office. In cities, the voters deal with matters of local affairs; in counties and States, with matters of State law; and in a nation, with matters of national law. A city alderman or a councilman votes regarding ordinances and resolutions to govern the city. The treasurer takes charge of the public funds. The commissioners of charity take charge of the poor. The police board selects and manages the policemen. The board of education selects the superin-

tendent of schools and establishes rules for the government of the schools.¹ The mayor is head of the general city government, and sees to the general enforcement of all legislation. The duties of various departments of government in great cities are so numerous that it would take several pages merely to make a list of them. The private citizen comes in contact more frequently with the men who hold municipal than with those who hold county and State offices. His relation to them is that of a voter for or against them, but he is also a subject, and must obey their laws while they are in office.

33. America, the Land of Opportunity. — Behind the American citizen is a glorious history of national independence won and maintained by force of arms. Personal independence has been secured through centuries of lawmaking that have resulted finally in the plan and purpose of giving equal freedom, equal rights, and equal opportunities to every man. When this New World was first settled, the people were divided into classes and even into castes. Gentlemen's sons inherited rights that were denied to the sons of laborers. As the result of these centuries of political contention and improvement, America has come to be truly the land of opportunity. A law-abiding citizen who takes advantage of the opportunities of education, of the free ballot, and of the right to hold land or to buy and sell it, has before him the certainty of possessing those three unalienable rights, — "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," which belong to all men, according to the immortal Declaration of Independence, but which were never hitherto realized in history. He lives in a land with many scenes of the greatest natural beauty, inviting him to keep his mind open to travel. By governing himself, he helps to govern the whole nation, for always by the ballot and sometimes by holding office he has a part in directing public affairs. He finds true personal liberty in obedience to laws and law enforcement, controlled by a

¹ One of the original and interesting features of American government is the establishment and maintenance of free public education, which exists in no other land of the world.

majority of his political equals. By reading books and newspapers all through life, by taking advantage in youth of the opportunities of systematic education, and by attending public lectures and great political meetings, in adult life, the American citizen becomes as intelligent and competent in public affairs as he is typically the best workman or business man of the world.

84. Education and the General Welfare. — The object of all government is to care for the welfare and happiness of its people. The government of the United States not only sees to it that citizens are able to enjoy their rights without interference, but also provides for the improvement of its citizens through education. In a republic such as ours, where each must take his part in governing the nation, whether it be by

voting or by holding office, the national welfare is entirely dependent on the intelligence of the people. Therefore, the education of the people is a necessary duty of government.

Public Schools.

— Realizing the importance of educating each citizen, every State has



PUBLIC SCHOOL, NEW YORK CITY

established a system of public schools. These schools are entirely free to all children without regard to race, color, or religion. More than this, in many States laws have been passed compelling all children between certain ages to attend the public schools. When such children do not go to school, the parents are held responsible. The parents may be arrested, brought before a magistrate, and punished for neglecting to do their duty in this matter.

School Funds.—The expense of carrying on the public schools is met largely by taxation. Every citizen is taxed according to the amount of property he owns. Some citizens pay much more than others for the education of their children. Indeed, it often happens that a man is taxed large sums of money for education when he has no children at all. But this makes no difference, as the object is the education of all for the general welfare. The citizens do not often meet the whole expense of the public schools, however. Nearly every State has a school fund, which is derived from a certain part of public lands reserved for that purpose. The money from this fund is divided among the school districts in proportion to the number of school children in each. The remaining expense is met by the taxation of the people.

State Superintendent of Schools.—In many States there is an officer known as the State Superintendent of Schools. It is his duty to exercise general supervision over the schools of the State and to suggest improvements to the State Legislature. There are officers in each county who aid him in his work.

Board of Education.—Each school district is in charge of a Board of Education, the members of which are elected by the voters of the district. Boards of Education have power to employ teachers, build schoolhouses, and buy text-books and supplies.

Importance of Public Schools.—Every American citizen should be ready to do as much as he can for the public schools, for it is through the schools alone that the coming generation may be prepared to govern the country properly.

85. Party Organization.—In every republican form of government, political parties are a necessity. They present the different sides of all public questions to the voters, so that intelligent decisions may be made on public matters.

Functions of Parties.—Parties educate and crystallize public opinion, select and nominate persons for public office, and carry on political campaigns. They arouse as much enthusiasm as

they can for their candidates at the time of election, and get out as large a vote as possible.

Methods. — For the purpose of arousing enthusiasm, the newspapers, pamphlets, stump speeches, torchlight parades, political clubs, and fireworks have their uses. Before every election, the newspapers are full of news concerning party candidates and party policies. Just before election, parties frequently distribute pamphlets that furnish the public with information regarding their plans and candidates, and some times regarding the shortcomings of their opponents. Through stump speeches, the candidates make themselves personally known to large numbers of voters. Before an election every citizen is canvassed with a view to obtaining his vote for the candidates favored. On election day the party provides carriages to bring to the polls those who otherwise either could not or would not walk to the voting place.

Party Machinery. — Every party has a "machine." This is made up of men who are agreed as to what the party policy should be. They unite for the sake of the strength such union gives them. Each member of the "machine" holds his position because of the political influence he has among the voters of the party. The leader of the "machine" is called the "boss." The "boss" is usually a man of very great power in political matters. The "machine" is always at work among the voters, whether it is election time or not.

Party Nominations. — Sometimes the nomination for public office takes place in the party convention which is composed of delegates appointed for the purpose. In many of the States, however, the party nominations are usually made through primaries. The primary is an election made by the voters of the party before and preliminary to the regular election. At the primary, the voters of the party nominate candidates to represent them at the regular election. The party sees to it that no one who is not a member of the party takes a part in its primaries. To prevent this, it keeps a list of all voters who belong to it. When one party is decidedly larger than

the other, the nomination by that party at the primary or at the convention is practically equivalent to election. In order to become President of the United States, it is first necessary for a man to secure the nomination of one of the great political parties. Next, he must have a majority of enough States, so that his electors may elect him in the Electoral College.

Party Conventions.—A city convention made up of delegates from the various wards takes charge of the municipal affairs of the party; a county convention made up of delegates from the various towns and cities takes charge of county affairs; a State convention made up of delegates from the various counties takes charge of State affairs, and a national convention made up of delegates from the various States takes charge of national affairs.

Party Platform.—The declaration of party principles adopted by a convention is called a platform, and each principle enunciated is called a plank.

86. Party History.—America's political parties are not, like its government, copies of Old World institutions, but are the peculiar product of our peculiar conditions. With us, a party is not a mere faction of the people, but rather a great systematic organization, with both a policy and a history. The great national parties have grown up by slow processes. The first parties were the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists. The former believed in a strong national government, so that the United States might maintain a dignified place among the nations of the world. The Anti-Federalists wished to see the State governments strong, so that individual citizens might be protected from oppression by the national government. In the course of time, these parties disappeared, while others took their places. Among these were the Whigs, who favored a protective tariff, and the Free-soilers, who were opposed to the extension of slavery.

Present Parties.—At the present time there are two great political parties in the United States, while there are several others of minor importance, such as the Socialists and the

Prohibitionists. The two great parties are the Democratic and the Republican. The Republicans have usually favored a high protective tariff for the encouragement of home industries, while the Democrats have been in favor of a low tariff, so that prices of goods to consumers should be low. In recent years, the Republicans have favored the single gold standard of money, while the Democrats for a time were in favor of the double standard, gold and silver. The Prohibitionists favor, both in the several States and in the Nation, the strict prohibition of the liquor traffic. The Socialists favor government ownership of railroads, mines, factories, and stores.

Growth and Decline of Parties.—When a party has once taken a definite stand before the people in regard to certain policies, it will support its candidates only so long as they maintain their pledges to carry out its policies. Thus, such a party is responsible for its candidates. A weak and unwise party disappears, as also does one that has accomplished its mission; and new parties come forward, stronger and wiser. It is possible in the course of time that a small party may become great, or that some new party not yet thought of may get a majority of the electors and may at some future time elect a President.

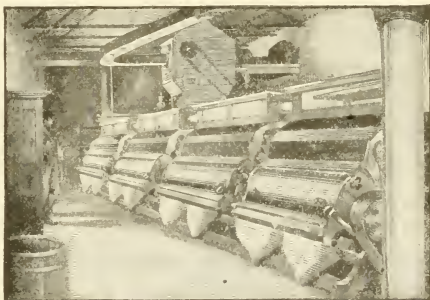
New Issues.—Among the new great questions are the following: whether the nation shall adopt or maintain the policy of imperialism, by governing colonies of subject races remote from the United States; whether the national government shall issue charters to the interstate industrial corporations; whether the government shall own, or at least control, such great industries as coal mining, railroading, and telegraphing; and whether the United States shall take an active part in plans for maintaining peace in the Old World as well as in the New World.

PART IV

OUR BUSINESS AFFAIRS

87. Inventions.—The progress of the United States in population and territory has been accompanied by equal progress in material wealth. We have four times the area that we had in 1800 and twenty times the population, while our general wealth has increased from a billion to several hundred billion dollars. This vast increase in wealth has been due in part to increase in land area and in the numbers of agricultural, industrial, and commercial workers. It has been largely due also to scientific discoveries and mechanical inventions.

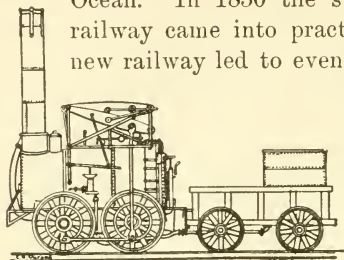
The Cotton Gin.—Among the most important of these inventions was the cotton gin, which came into use in 1793. The cotton gin enabled man to accomplish by machinery work that had before been done by hand methods, and led to a number of other important inventions in the manufacture of cotton. These cotton inventions, together with the immense increase in the number of slaves and the almost unlimited market in Europe for cotton, brought great wealth to the South. Since the War of Secession, progress in cotton raising and in manufacture has been very great.



COTTON GIN

Steamships and Railways.—In 1807 the first successful steamship was built. The application of steam to water travel led

to a vast increase of transportation by water along the inland lakes and rivers. In 1819 a steamship crossed the Atlantic Ocean. In 1830 the steam locomotive and the iron railway came into practical use in this country. The new railway led to even greater economic changes than



EARLY LOCOMOTIVE

the steamship, which had to follow fixed waterways, while the lines of the steam locomotive could go north, east, south, and west, almost at the pleasure of man. Before 1860 railways were to be found in all parts of the United States

east of the Mississippi, and during the Civil War a railway was carried west from the Mississippi toward the Pacific Coast.

The Telegraph was invented soon after the steamship and the railway. Which of the three, the steam locomotive, the steamship, or the electric telegraph, has been the most important agent in the economic and political transformation of this country, it would be very hard to say. Taken together, they have almost annihilated time and space. By telegraph, Boston may communicate with San Francisco within the briefest time; by steamship, one may go from New York to Liverpool in less than five days; and by rail, Boston and Philadelphia, cities that one hundred years ago were more than a week apart by steady stage coaching, are now within seven hours of travel, while New York and Chicago are less than one day apart. Recently, the automobile and the aeroplane have given to man yet greater mastery of earth and of air.

The Telephone. — Wonderful as these inventions have been in some respects, that of the telephone, which came into use in 1876, is equally remarkable. It enables men to talk to one another though they may be thousands of miles apart. These means of rapid intercommunication, man with man, supplemented as they have been by the inventions of swift printing presses and of photography, and by the development

of the government mail service, have made it possible to organize business combinations of a size hitherto not dreamed of.

88. Business Associations. — Within the past ten years single corporations have grown until their capital stock and bonds have reached not merely fifty or one hundred million dollars, vast as such sums seem, but even half a billion, a full billion, and in one instance a billion and a half of dollars. This represents more than the total wealth of the United States in 1800. The human mind can scarcely realize such sums.¹

Labor Unions. — While this movement has been going on upon the side of capital invested in business, an equally important movement has taken place among the laborers, who have combined in unions to protect themselves against small corporations, while the unions have combined in amalgamations to protect themselves against the great corporations.

Strife between Labor and Capital. — The last few years of American economic history have witnessed many struggles between the capitalists on one side and the laborers on the other. The Constitution guarantees to protect all forms of private property. At the same time, it is an essential principle of American democracy that the citizens are equal in rights and opportunities. The struggle between capital and labor is one of the most important movements in American history.

89. The Protective Tariff. — The amazing development of manufactures in the United States has taken place partly because of the fostering care of our tariff system. Since the United States government must have money for its annual expenditures, it is necessary and advisable to impose taxes upon imported goods. By making these taxes heavy upon classes of goods manufactured at less cost in the Old World than in the United States, their prices to the American consumers are increased. For these increased prices American manufacturers can afford to produce them; hence, the tariff has stimulated

¹ It is profitable to discuss in class by illustrations the meaning of a thousand dollars' worth of property, ten thousand dollars' worth, and so on up to millions. Newspaper financial reports furnish valuable material.

the manufacture of various kinds of goods that would not otherwise have been produced in this country. The protective tariff has had bitter opposition, and free traders have claimed that more harm than good has resulted from it, because of the increased prices to consumers. This discussion has been one of the most important in American politics for two generations.

90. The Principles of Business.—Some knowledge of the natural laws of business is essential to a fair understanding of the great questions now before our people. These great questions are whether or not the organization of monopolistic combinations of labor should be restrained by national law, and whether or not such properties as coal mines, railroads, and telegraph lines should be owned by the State or the national governments. Other great questions similar to these have been solved by men who have known the history of nations and have understood the science, commonly called economics, dealing with the laws of business.

The Nature of Business.—Not every activity that men engage in constitutes business. Play, which is physical activity for its own sake, is not business; nor is that hard and continuous form of effort known as domestic service business. Not everything that involves the handling of money is business to all parties concerned, for charity is not business; and yet charity costs private persons and whole communities great sums of money. Business consists in the production and distribution of commodities that minister to human welfare. It involves the buying and selling of products or of services. There are always two parties to a business transaction, both of whom wish to gain something. Business involves exchange of services or articles of value. The business world is composed of business men and of workmen of many classes. A business man may be a contractor, a tradesman, a manufacturer, a merchant, or a banker. The business man is at the head of a business enterprise. He furnishes the capital that provides employment for labor, and his purpose in engaging in the enterprise is to make a profit by which he can maintain

himself and his family and increase his property. The workmen include clerks, mechanics, artisans, general employees, and unskilled laborers.

Corporations. — In modern business, the great corporations are taking the place of individual business men and of firms of business men in the management of enterprises, so that the head employees of corporations, though they are paid salaries like workmen, are really business men; that is, managers of business. While the business men work for the sake of profits, the workmen labor to receive salaries and wages. Some of the important men employed in the management of great corporations receive very large salaries. Many of the managers and presidents of great life insurance companies and railroads receive from \$20,000 to \$100,000 a year. The salaries and wages paid to men engaged in the more common employments are familiar to us all. They are higher than in Europe, partly because the use of more machinery makes their labor more productive.

Sources of Profit. — One who understands the laws of business knows why some men make such great profits from business that in the course of a few years they may accumulate millions of dollars' worth of property, while good workmen may receive only enough wages to support their families. A manufacturing company engages in business for the sake of making a profit from the sale of its products. In order to make the products, it is necessary for the company to have land, buildings, machinery, materials, and working people. It is necessary also for the company to bear its share of the general expenses of the government. After all these expenditures are paid for, the surplus remaining from the sale of products is the profit. Therefore, in order to understand how a profit is realized from business, it is first necessary to understand what the expenses of business are.

Land and Rent. — The first expense in any business is that of renting or purchasing land. When a manufacturer has only a small capital, he usually prefers to rent the land on which

his buildings are to stand. The owner of the land usually makes a lease with the manufacturer for a term of years, with a provision for a renewal of the lease for an additional term of years, so that the manufacturer will not lose the value of the building that he erects.

Variations in Price of Land.—The annual rent depends entirely upon the quality of the land or on its accessibility to the market. Since the owner of land has by law the right to exclude all others from using it, he can compel any one who wishes to use it to pay him for the privilege of so doing; but influences outside of his personal feelings determine how much the tenant will pay, for no tenant will pay more for a piece of land than he would have to pay for equally desirable land elsewhere. Consequently, the rents of various pieces of land vary. Inaccessible and inconvenient locations are worth nothing to manufacturers and merchants, while those very near and convenient to the market are worth great sums of money annually. A manufacturer can afford to pay more for land immediately upon a railroad track than he can for land far away from a railroad, since with a factory upon land near the track he saves the cost of transporting his products by team to the railroad.

Relation of Rent to Interest.—When the manufacturer prefers to buy the land outright, the price depends upon what the rent would be if the land were rented annually. Where borrowed money costs five per cent annually and where taxes on real estate are about one per cent on the value of the land, that value is about sixteen times the annual rent. Where money is dearer annually, land is cheaper to buy; and where money is cheaper, land is dearer. This is a complicated problem in arithmetic which manufacturers have to work out practically.

Capital and Interest.—The second expense that the manufacturer must meet is that of money borrowed as capital. If he uses his own capital in the business, it must nevertheless be considered as an expense, since his capital would have yielded

him money if he had lent it to another. He will use this capital to put up his buildings, and to buy machinery and materials for manufacturing. He needs also some cash capital to handle his products on the market.¹ Where the total amount of money which is in the market to lend is large, and where the loan proposed is very safe, there the annual interest, or price for the use of money, is small. On the other hand, where the amount of money available for lending is small and where the risks of the loans are great, money is very dear. In the United States, within the past twenty-five years, money has been lent to manufacturers for business uses at interest rates varying from four and five per cent to twelve and even greater per cents.

Insurance for Money Risks. — If money lenders were paid the same rates of interest for loans where the risk of getting their capital back is great, as where the risk is small, one or the other of two things would happen: either the money lenders would be unwilling to lend their capital, or all accumulated wealth would be borrowed by so many unsuccessful enterprises that it would gradually disappear. The excess of interest paid by those who borrow for risky ventures over the interest that is paid by those who borrow for steady-going enterprises, is in the nature of an insurance fund out of which losses of capital are paid.

Laws concerning Interest. — In interest for the use of money, the law of the State interferes as in the case of rent for the use of land. Just as the law guarantees to the owner of the title to landed property the right of excluding all others from the property and enables a landlord to take his tenant's personal property, when rent due is not paid, so the law of the State enables a lender of money to collect from the property, real or personal, of a borrower, the capital sum borrowed, together with interest at the legal rate or as agreed, subject to the conditions set by the law.

¹ Most merchandise is sold upon a time credit of thirty, sixty, or ninety days. The seller gives up possession of his goods a considerable time before he receives cash in payment for them.

Labor and Wages. — The third expense of the manufacturer is that for labor employed in his business. This expense consists of salaries, wages, and pay for piecework. The landlord owns land and can exclude others from it; the capitalist owns money and can keep others from taking it; and every man in the United States has the right to his own labor. And as the capitalist or the landlord who will not use or let others use his capital or his land can get no income from it, so the working-man, who has neither land nor capital, and who will not work, can get no income day by day. The times have been when land yielded no rent, when money brought no interest, and when most men were slaves and had to work without wages for masters whether they wished to do so or not; but, in those times, even the greatest nations were very poor in comparison with so rich a nation of free and equal men as the United States.

Laws governing Wages. — Natural laws of business tend to govern the wages paid to labor. Some of these laws are difficult to understand. The simplest and most important ones are the following:

1. When the demand for workmen is great and the supply of workmen is relatively small, wages are high; and when the demand is small and the supply is relatively large, wages are low. In "good times" wages rise; in "hard times" they fall.

2. Men will not work for wages lower than the amount they regard as necessary to support a decent mode of life. When offered less than such an amount they refuse to accept the work, and do something else instead. They engage in business for themselves, or take to farming, or go to other places where labor is better paid. Sometimes they live without work for long periods, and are then forced by necessity to try to live on less wages than they were willing to accept before.

3. Men without ability to do various kinds of labor are apt to get lower wages than those whose ability enables them to do now one thing, now another; because when dissatisfied they have not the power to turn to some other kind of work.

Employers try to keep wages from rising, and employees try to make them rise. There is a steady push and pull in which poor men, or those poorly educated, are at a disadvantage.

4. Men working at tasks requiring unusual ability or long preparation receive higher wages than those who do work requiring less ability and less preparation. This is because the supply of able men, well prepared for difficult work, is small while the demand is great; and because, as the hire of land well located is high, so the hire of men well educated is high. The landlord gets high rents for his desirable land, and the laborer gets high wages for his desirable labor.

5. In occupations requiring skill, the men often unite in unions and agree upon a minimum price for their labor. This uniting tends to raise wages but to decrease both the demand for and the supply of a particular kind of skilled labor.

Materials and Price. — The next expense of the manufacturer is for the materials that he uses in his factory. Their cost to him depends upon their price, and their price depends upon the supply of and the demand for such materials in the general market. Price measures value in money. The value of goods depends partly upon the cost of producing them, and partly on how useful they seem to others. The price of goods is not for any great length of time lower than the cost of producing them, for the producers will cease to produce particular kinds of goods after beginning to lose money on them. This by diminishing the supply of the goods will tend to raise their price. On the other hand, where competition is free, the price of goods cannot long remain much above the cost of production. For if the profits are very great, so many goods will be produced that the supply will exceed the demand, — a condition which will tend to lower the price. The price of goods is never higher than the buyers are willing to pay rather than to do without them.

Other Expenses. — The manufacturer has still other expenses to consider before he can estimate correctly his profits and his losses. These include taxes, insurance, and other items.

Taxes.—Taxes are the amounts levied upon property by government for its own expenditures. In every civilized nation, taxes are unavoidable. Government pays for the police, who, sometimes at the risk of their own lives, make property secure; government pays for education by which children are prepared for life as good and useful citizens; it pays for the protection of buildings from destruction by fire; for the army and navy that keep foreign enemies away from our homes; and for many other things.

Fire Insurance.—Fire insurance is the provision by which, upon the payment of a premium, various corporations agree to give in case of loss of property by fire either certain amounts of money or to repair the property. Only very wealthy men or corporations owning many different buildings can afford to run the risk of losing a building by fire.

Profit and Loss.—After the manufacturer has paid the rent of land, the interest on the cost of buildings, machinery, and cash capital, the wages of the workingmen, the taxes and insurance on his property, and all other expenses, and has received payment for the products of his factory, he knows whether he has made a profit or sustained a loss.

Competition and Trusts.—As the workman cannot live unless he gets his wages, so the employer cannot long continue his business unless he makes profits. Many employers fail in business. This is due partly to competition which tends constantly to reduce the prices of products, and partly to the employers' drawing for themselves out of their receipts from sales more money than the profits warrant. In recent years, in the United States, more than half the business men—manufacturers, merchants, contractors—have failed at least once in business. In order to do away as much as possible with competition, the capitalists in recent years have been organizing great corporations or trusts that have combined smaller competing enterprises and have put the former heads of these enterprises upon regular salaries in the great corporations.

SUMMARY

91. America in History. — When the colonists in America declared independence from England in 1776, they little understood what they had undertaken and what the nation that they had begun was yet to become. They would have been astonished by a vision of the things that are now real. To them not the only incredible things would have been the telephone and telegraph, the steam locomotive and steamship, the great twenty-story office buildings, and the marvelous billion-dollar industrial corporations. Incredible to them would have been the present average popular intelligence due to the free public schools and libraries, and to the activity of the modern printing press. Incredible would have been the present high position of woman. Incredible would have been the political equality of all citizens, rich and poor, educated and ignorant.

We have many things yet to accomplish in America, but there is not much that we can do in the way of progress by trying to revive or to imitate conditions in the Old World. In the United States we have yet to solve, if possible, the problems of capital and labor, of wealth and poverty, and of the overcrowding of cities; but ever since the first European settlement of America, the people of this land have gone on from experiment to experiment in all the affairs of government and society, steadily realizing better and better conditions of life for the body and for the soul. It is the American ideal that all are to share in the general progress in wealth, intelligence, and morality. Here opportunity is denied to none. Here, for the first time in human history, a great and rich nation of men, free and equal, has grown up, conscious of the purpose in all its institutions to help each citizen to make the most of himself. By the free institutions of America,

heritages of all past ages in science and art and literature, in government and religion, in the home and in the school, constituting an incalculable treasure, are ready and waiting to be taken by all who desire to possess them. How much we receive depends almost entirely upon ourselves, upon our desire and our effort. The vast, progressive civilization all about us, by means of which we live, offers its aid on every hand, when we understand its meaning and are ourselves willing and able to take our place and to do our part in its great and beneficent activities.

In America, we have the open road for talent, industry, and character. Of course, not to every one come the same opportunities, but there is no hereditary aristocracy of privilege that controls all high places. Any youth may become almost what he will,—of all our Presidents, about two thirds were born in poor and humble circumstances. Most of our multimillionaires, most of our inventors, most of our educators, most of our great lawyers, surgeons, doctors, ministers, journalists, authors, architects, public leaders, artists, and scientists have been and are living witnesses that we have in America, if not an equal chance for all, at least a fair chance for nearly all. Every good American believes in fair play and in no privilege. Such is the faith and the practice of American democracy. Therefore, we offer free to all a complete education, which is the assurance of our faith in human nature.

APPENDIX

THE PRESIDENTS

	PARTY	TERM	STATE
George Washington	No party	1789-1797	Virginia
John Adams	Federalist	1797-1801	Massachusetts
Thomas Jefferson	Republican ¹	1801-1809	Virginia
James Madison	Republican ¹	1809-1817	Virginia
James Monroe	Republican ¹	1817-1825	Virginia
John Quincy Adams	Republican ²	1825-1829	Massachusetts
Andrew Jackson	Democratic	1829-1837	Tennessee
Martin Van Buren	Democratic	1837-1841	New York
William Henry Harrison	Whig	1841	Ohio
John Tyler	Whig ³	1841-1845	Virginia
James Knox Polk	Democratic	1845-1849	Tennessee
Zachary Taylor	Whig	1849-1850	Louisiana
Millard Fillmore	Whig	1850-1853	New York
Franklin Pierce	Democratic	1853-1857	New Hampshire
James Buchanan	Democratic	1857-1861	Pennsylvania
Abraham Lincoln	Republican	1861-1865	Illinois
Andrew Johnson	Republican ⁴	1865-1869	Tennessee
Ulysses Simpson Grant	Republican	1869-1877	Illinois
Rutherford Birchard Hayes	Republican	1877-1881	Ohio
James Abram Garfield	Republican	1881	Ohio
Chester Alan Arthur	Republican	1881-1885	New York
Grover Cleveland	Democratic	1885-1889	New York
Benjamin Harrison	Republican	1889-1893	Indiana
Grover Cleveland	Democratic	1893-1897	New York
William McKinley	Republican	1897-1901	Ohio
Theodore Roosevelt	Republican	1901-1909	New York
William Howard Taft	Republican	1909-1913	Ohio
Woodrow Wilson	Democratic	1913-1921	New Jersey
Warren Gamaliel Harding	Republican	1921-	Ohio

¹ Sometimes called Democratic-Republican—the party from which the Democratic party of to-day claims descent.

² At the time of John Quincy Adams's election, political parties were disorganized. He called himself a Republican, but his doctrines were Federalistic.

³ An anti-Jackson Democrat elected on the Whig ticket.

⁴ A Union War Democrat elected upon the Republican ticket.

DATES OF SETTLEMENT AND ADMISSION OF STATES

No.	STATES	DATE OF ADMISSION INTO THE UNION	DATE OF SETTLE- MENT	No.	STATES	DATE OF ADMISSION INTO THE UNION	DATE OF SETTLE- MENT
1	Delaware	¹ 1787	1638	25	Arkansas . .	1836	1685
2	Pennsylvania . .	¹ 1787	1682	26	Michigan . .	1837	1668
3	New Jersey . . .	¹ 1787	1664	27	Florida . . .	1845	1565
4	Georgia	¹ 1788	1733	28	Texas	1845	1692
5	Connecticut . . .	¹ 1788	1633	29	Iowa	1846	1833
6	Massachusetts . .	¹ 1788	1620	30	Wisconsin . .	1848	1745
7	Maryland	¹ 1788	1634	31	California . .	1850	1769
8	South Carolina .	¹ 1788	1670	32	Minnesota . .	1858	1838
9	New Hampshire .	¹ 1788	1623	33	Oregon	1859	1811
10	Virginia	¹ 1788	1607	34	Kansas	1861	1854
11	New York	¹ 1788	² 1613	35	West Virginia	1863	1764
12	North Carolina .	¹ 1789	1653	36	Nevada	1864	1850
13	Rhode Island . .	¹ 1790	1636	37	Nebraska . .	1867	1847
14	Vermont	1791	1724	38	Colorado . .	1876	1859
15	Kentucky	1792	1775	39	North Dakota	1889	1812
16	Tennessee	1796	1757	40	South Dakota	1889	1859
17	Ohio	1803	1788	41	Montana . .	1889	1809
18	Louisiana	1812	1718	42	Washington .	1889	1811
19	Indiana	1816	² 1702	43	Idaho	1890	1842
20	Mississippi . . .	1817	1699	44	Wyoming . .	1890	1867
21	Illinois	1818	² 1682	45	Utah	1896	1847
22	Alabama	1819	1702	46	Oklahoma . .	1907	1889
23	Maine	1820	² 1623	47	New Mexico .	1912	1598
24	Missouri	1821	1755	48	Arizona . . .	1912	² 1700

CITY DEPARTMENTS AND EXPENDITURES

The following report from the Auditor's office of the city of Newark, New Jersey, 1902, shows the amount appropriated for the various departments of the city government for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1902. In connection with the public schools, it should be noted that there is appropriated in New Jersey, in addition to local amounts, a very large sum, for

¹ Date of ratifying the Constitution.² Doubtful.

the benefit of each municipality, from the State treasury, so that the annual cost of the public schools in the city of Newark for the year 1902 was nearly twice as large as the item here given.

In certain other departments, large sums are received from the local sources, as in the case of water which is paid for by consumers.

Examine and discuss all these items.

Public schools	\$505,000.00
Sinking fund and interest	496,128.00
Police	452,000.00
Fire department	363,000.00
Public lighting	185,000.00
Streets and highways	119,000.00
Repaving streets	100,000.00
Scavenger contract	74,164.00
City Home	45,000.00
Sewers, cleaning and repairs	45,000.00
Free Library	43,000.00
City Hospital	40,000.00
Collecting taxes	28,000.00
Assessment department	25,000.00
Public health	23,000.00
Poor and alms	22,000.00
Street and Water Commissioners	40,000.00
Hospitals	18,000.00
Uncollected personal tax, 1900	10,000.00
Water supply	7,500.00
Construction and alteration of buildings	6,000.00
Crosswalks	5,000.00
Public baths	5,000.00
Public buildings	5,000.00
Public grounds	5,000.00
Sidewalks, repairing	3,000.00
Bridges	3,000.00
Purchase land for Fourth Police Precinct	3,500.00

Purchase land for firehouse, Eighth Ward . . .	\$3,000.00
Wharves	1,500.00
Industrial schools	400.00
Defalcations	100.00

There are other items to be noted in connection with the city treasury. The city receives financial help from the State for its hospitals, its department for collecting taxes, its fire department, its poor, and its department of health. The city also receives from individuals upon assessments of property sums for the department of water and streets. The water department in Newark receives more than \$500,000 a year, and the street departments nearly \$250,000. The total appropriations in Newark for 1902 were \$2,683,958, and its receipts from all other sources were expected to be \$1,537,592. The county taxes in Newark for the fiscal year 1902-1903 were \$1,000,000.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FURTHER STUDY OF UNITED STATES HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

1. Read in a standard encyclopedia the biographies of the great men whose names are mentioned in the preceding text. Talk over their lives and write brief paragraphs upon them.

2. Find upon the map the various States and places mentioned in the text.

3. Consult the standard American History and Civil Government text-books upon any points that prove especially interesting in the class discussions of topics treated in the brief account here.

4. Bring to class sample ballots used in political elections and in party primaries. Discuss the duties of various offices for which candidates have been put in nomination by the various parties. Discuss also the conditions upon which men may become voters in your own State.

5. Especially discuss the duties of all the prominent officers in your local municipality: mayor, aldermen and councilmen,

board of health, board of education, school superintendent, board of public works, city engineer, commissioner of highways, commissioner of sewers, commissioners of police, overseers of the poor, city physician, etc.

6. Notice what local buildings your municipality owns in the way of city or town hall, jail, firehouses, schoolhouses, libraries, hospitals, almshouses, etc.

7. Find out about the various public buildings owned by the State and the counties, such as asylums for the insane, poor-houses, hospitals, penitentiaries, reform schools, etc.

8. In the current illustrated weeklies and monthlies, notice illustrations of various kinds of national, State, county, and local public properties, such as buildings, ships, parks, military stations, etc.

9. Find out the conditions of service in the United States navy and in the United States army; also the conditions of service in your own State's militia.

10. In all work in history and government remember that, while breadth of view is desirable, accuracy of information is of first importance. It is not necessary to know many dates, but it is necessary to a true historical perspective that a few dates should be known with absolute correctness.

NOTES TO TEACHER. — 1. When opportunity offers, invite men who hold public positions, such as the chief of police, city librarian, superintendent of schools, an army officer, to visit the evening school and to talk to the classes about the duties of government as they know them.

2. When school facilities permit, give illustrated stereopticon lectures upon topics of historical interest or relating to the conduct of civil government.

3. Get books of American biography and the best historical novels and have them read during evening school hours by those whose proficiency warrants such use of their time. Such students may talk to the class about what they have read — an invaluable exercise in clearing up ideas upon only partly understood topics.

4. Explain the principles of the American protective tariff and the methods of levying internal revenue duties.

5. Explain the method of conducting national banks. This topic is of importance also in arithmetic.

ADDITIONAL READINGS

Among books of especial interest and value, both to teachers and to students of American history, are the following:

SOURCE MATERIALS

Hart's *American History told by Contemporaries*. 4 vols.
 Hart's *Source Readers of American History* (Juvenile). 4 vols.
 Caldwell's *American History*.
Old South Leaflets.

ONE-VOLUME HISTORIES

Thorpe's *History of the American People*.
 Barnes's *School History of the United States*, and McLaughlin's, McMaster's, Eggleston's, Channing's, etc.

STANDARD HISTORIES

Bancroft's *History of the United States*. 1492-1789. 6 vols.
 Schouler's *History of the United States*. 1783-1865. 6 vols.
 McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*. (Revolution to Civil War.) 8 vols.
 Rhodes's *History of the United States since 1850*. 7 vols.
Epochs of American History. Vol. I, Thwaites; Vol. II, Hart; Vol. III, Wilson. (This contains valuable lists of books.)

ENCYCLOPEDIAS OF HISTORY

Harper's *United States History Series*. 30 vols.
 Larned's *History for Ready Reference* (esp. Vol. V). 6 vols.

SPECIAL WORKS

Fiske's *Discovery of America*; *Old Virginia and her Neighbors*; *Beginnings of New England*; *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies*; *American Revolution*; *Critical Period*.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT

Willoughby's *Rights and Duties of American Citizenship*;
 Peterman's *Civil Government*; Clark's *The Government*.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE — 1776

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all hav-

ing in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained ; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected ; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise ; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States ; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined, with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws ; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation :

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us :

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States :

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

AN EQUAL CHANCE

“We have, besides the men descended by blood from our ancestors, among us, perhaps half our people who are not descendants at all of these men. They are men who have come from Europe themselves, or whose ancestors have come hither and settled here, finding themselves our equals in all things. If they look back through history to trace their connection with those [Revolutionary] days by blood, they find they have none; they cannot carry themselves back into that glorious epoch and make themselves feel that they are part of us; but when they look through that old Declaration of Independence, they find that those old men say that, ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal,’ and then they feel that that moral sentiment, taught in that day, evidences their relation to those men, that it is the father of all moral principle in them, and that they have a right to claim it as though they were blood of the blood and flesh of the flesh of the men who wrote that Declaration; and so they are. That is the electric cord in the Declaration that links the hearts of patriotic and liberty-loving men together; that will link those patriotic hearts as long as the love of freedom exists in the minds of men throughout the world.

* * * * *

That sentiment gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance.

* * * * *

Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher to posterity, pledge his life, his property, and his sacred honor to the support of the Constitution and the laws.”

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

AN EPITOME OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

(The sections in quotation marks are exact reproductions.)

PREAMBLE. “WE the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.”

ARTICLE I. SECTION 1 provides for the **legislative department** of the national government, establishing Congress, and dividing it into two Houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives. (See p. 70.)

SECTION 2. Representatives are apportioned among the several States according to their population. They serve two years. (See p. 71.)

SECTION 3. Two senators are chosen from each State. They serve six years. (See p. 71.)

The Vice President of the United States is President of the Senate.

SECTION 6. All members of Congress are “privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same ; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.” No member can hold “any civil office under the authority of the United States.”

SECTION 7. The representatives (coming direct from the people) originate all revenue bills ; but the Senate may propose amendments.

The President may veto bills, but his veto may be annulled by a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress.

SECTION 8. “1 The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States ; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States ;

“2 To borrow money on the credit of the United States ;

“3 To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes ;

“4 To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States ;

“5 To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures ;

"6 To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States ;

"7 To establish post offices and post roads ;

"8 To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries ;

"9 To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court ;

"10 To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations ;

"11 To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water ;

"12 To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years ;

"13 To provide and maintain a navy ;

"14 To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ;

"15 To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions ;

"16 To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;

"17 To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States,¹ and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings ; and

"18 To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof."

SECTION 9. *Habeas corpus* is guaranteed save in time of war or public riot.

Free trade is established between the States.

"No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States : and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the

¹ The District of Columbia, which comes under these regulations, had not then been erected.

consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State."

SECTION 10. No State can make any treaty with a foreign nation, "lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports," "engage in war unless actually invaded," or coin money.

(Article I has ten sections.)

ARTICLE II provides for the **executive department** of the national government.

SECTION 1 vests the "executive power" in the President and provides for the Electoral College. (See p. 73.)

SECTION 2 makes the President "commander-in-chief of the army and navy," gives him control of all branches of the executive department, and grants him the pardoning power. "By and with the advice and consent of the Senate," he shall make treaties and appoint ambassadors, consuls, judges, etc.

(Article II has four sections.)

ARTICLE III. SECTION 1 organizes the **judicial department**. (See pp. 71, 72.)

SECTION 2. All crimes must be tried by jury.

(Article III has three sections.)

ARTICLE IV. SECTION 2. "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." Offenders against the law of one State, fleeing to another, must be returned. Slaves who run away must also be returned.

SECTION 4. "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence."

(Article IV has four sections.)

ARTICLE V provides modes for **amending** the Constitution. (See p. 71.)

(Articles V, VI, and VII are not divided into sections.)

ARTICLE VI makes the Constitution "the supreme law of the land . . . anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

ARTICLE VII made the Constitution valid upon its ratification by **nine States** (See p. 35.)

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

There are nineteen amendments to the Constitution now in force.

ARTICLE I. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press ; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances."

ARTICLES II-IX guarantee other rights of the people, such as "to keep arms," to be free from unreasonable search of their homes, not "to be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law," to speedy trial when charged with offenses, to trial by jury in large property cases, to fair bail, and to reasonable punishments.

ARTICLE X. "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

ARTICLE XI concerns suits by a citizen against a State.

ARTICLE XII provides a slightly modified plan of electing the President.

ARTICLE XIII forbids "slavery" and "involuntary servitude."

ARTICLE XIV gives to the freedmen the right to be counted equally with those born free, in the apportionment of representatives (formerly five slaves counted as equal to but three freedmen).

ARTICLE XV. "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

ARTICLE XVI. "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States and without regard to any census or enumeration."

ARTICLE XVII provides that the senators in the Congress shall be elected by the voters of each State.

ARTICLE XVIII prohibits the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States and territory under its jurisdiction.

ARTICLE XIX. "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

THE CHARACTERS OF OUR PRESIDENTS

OUR Presidents are all veterans of public life. They come to the office from successful experiences as members of State legislatures and of Congress, as governors of States, as judges, as high officers of the army, as ministers of the Nation to foreign lands, as college presidents, as secretaries in the Cabinets, and as Vice Presidents of the United States. When inaugurated, the youngest, Theodore Roosevelt, was forty-two years of age; when he left office, the oldest, James Buchanan, was sixty-nine years of age.

The Presidency of our country is a dangerous office to hold. Three of the Presidents have been assassinated; and one ex-President was shot, though fortunately he recovered,—Theodore Roosevelt. Two Presidents died in office, and two others lived but a short time after leaving office. Three Presidents lost their wives by death in the White House,—John Tyler, Benjamin Harrison, and Woodrow Wilson. We believe that it is the most important office in the world, and the hardest to fill. We have never elected a man who proved unworthy of our Presidency.

Nearly all of our Presidents were born poor, and half of them were still poor when elected to the office. Not one of them was what we call a "rich man," though several by inheritance or by marriage, by personal exertions or by good fortune were wealthy. Nearly every one had in this land of free schools a good education, and half of them were college graduates. Four of them were the sons of immigrants from one or another "old country" across the sea. Andrew Jackson was a penniless orphan without even a brother or sister, uncle or aunt in this country.

Only one, James Buchanan, was a bachelor. Nearly all the others had children, and half of them had grandchildren.

Every one of our Presidents was a kind-hearted man whom his neighbors at home liked as well as respected.

Much as we admire and love all our Presidents, two of them are nearer to our hearts than any others, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. It is worth while to know a few facts about each of these good and great men. They were not kings, ruling by inheritance of rights superior to the rest of us, but our chosen leaders, serving by our will.

George Washington was born in 1732, served as President from 1789 till 1797, and died in 1799. In his youth and early manhood, he had been a great athlete, and always was a physically powerful man. He could run and jump twenty-two feet, and ride horseback sixteen hours a day. He was Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Army in the War of Independence, and president of the Convention that made the Constitution of our country. He was a planter and merchant, as well as soldier and statesman. Wealthy and yet self-sacrificing, handsome, brave, and of stately manners, silent of tongue, though a prodigious letter writer, to this day we call him "the father of his country" and "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." It is a wonderful blessing for a nation to have such a warrior-statesman as model for all later Presidents, and indeed for all citizens.

John Adams was born in 1735, served as President from 1797 till 1801, and died in 1826. He had been minister to France and to other foreign lands, United States Senator, and Vice President. He had a brilliant wife, almost as famous as himself.

Thomas Jefferson was born in 1743, served as President from 1801 till 1809, and died in 1826, upon the same day as John Adams, and the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, which he himself had written. He had been Governor of Virginia, Congressman, Secretary of State, minister to France, and Vice-President. He had founded the University of Virginia, and acted as its first rector. He was a versatile man, — a fine horseman, a scientist, a violinist, a

good lawyer, a statesman, and the writer who, first of all men, explained the philosophy of American democracy.

James Madison was born in 1751, served as President from 1809 till 1817, and died in 1836. He had been a Congressman and Secretary of State. To him more than to any other one man we owe the Constitution of the United States. He was a diligent scholar in all matters of statesmanship.

James Monroe was born in 1758, served as President from 1817 till 1825, and died in 1831. He had been a colonel in the Revolutionary War, serving through the terrible winter of Valley Forge with Washington; then he became Congressman, minister to France, Governor of Virginia, and Secretary of State. But he lived and died a poor man. His administrations were called "the era of good feeling."

John Quincy Adams was born in 1767, served as President from 1825 till 1829, and died in 1848, while a member of the House of Representatives and in the Capitol itself. His father was John Adams, his mother Abigail Smith, his own son Charles Francis Adams, who was minister to England under Lincoln. Able even than his father, the second Adams had been minister to Prussia and to Russia, professor of literature in Harvard College, United States Senator, and Secretary of State. In old age, in terrific debates for many years as a Congressman, he fought for the right of every American to petition Congress upon any matter whatsoever, and he won. He was an athlete who even into old age went swimming daily in the Potomac river, except in midwinter.

Andrew Jackson was born in 1767, served as President from 1829 till 1837, and died in 1845. He had been a judge, a member of Congress, an Indian fighter, Governor of Tennessee, and the general who won the battle of New Orleans in 1815. The people called him "Old Hickory" and "Old Hero." This fiery man brought into the national Government the democracy of the "New West."

Martin van Buren was born in 1782, the first President who had no memories of the Revolutionary War; served from 1837

till 1841, and died in 1862. He had been State Attorney General of New York, United States Senator, Governor of New York, Secretary of State, minister to England and Vice President. Born poor, he had grown wealthy from a great private law practice. He took the money belonging to the United States from private banks and put it into a Government institution, which was an important service to our people.

William Henry Harrison was born in 1773, and served one month as President in 1841, when he died of pneumonia. He had been Governor of Indiana Territory, general in the army, Congressman, and minister to Colombia. Throughout his long hard life as soldier, pioneer, and politician, he had been poor. He left a large family of children and grandchildren. The people called him "Tippecanoe" because of a victory over the Indians upon an Indiana river of that name.

John Tyler (elected as Vice President) was born in 1790, served as President from 1841 till 1845, and died in 1862. He had been Congressman, Governor of Virginia, and Senator. He left fourteen children, the largest family of all the Presidents.

•**James Knox Polk** was born in 1795, served from 1845 till 1849, and died a few weeks after leaving the Presidency, partly from overwork during the Mexican War, and partly from grief at failing to secure a second term. He had been Speaker of the House of Representatives. As we owe the vast Louisiana Purchase in the west to Jefferson, so we owe the likewise vast Mexican Cession in the Southwest to Polk.

Zachary Taylor was born in 1784, and served as President from 1849 till the midsummer of 1850. He had been the hero of the Mexican War and the people called him "Old Rough and Ready." He had spent all his life in army service in the West and had never cast a vote. Though he knew nothing of politics, he made an able President. He died of sunstroke and fever occasioned by laying the cornerstone of the Washington Monument. Though, like Washington, he owned a thousand slaves, he regarded slavery as wrong and opposed the slaveholders in Congress.

Millard Fillmore (elected as Vice President) was born in 1800, served as President from 1850 until 1853, and died in 1874. He had been a Congressman, State Comptroller of New York, and Vice President.

Franklin Pierce was born in 1804, served from 1853 till 1857, and died in 1869. He had been Speaker of the New Hampshire State Assembly, Congressman, Senator, and general during the Mexican War, where he had been injured in battle. The people called his administration "the second era of good feeling."

James Buchanan was born in 1791, served from 1857 till 1861, and died in 1868. He had been Congressman, minister to Russia, Senator, and minister to Great Britain.

Abraham Lincoln was born in 1809, and served one term and six weeks from 1861 till 1865, when he was killed by a man who sympathized with the South. His only high public office had been service for two years as a Congressman, but he was a leader of the anti-slavery forces in the West. Born almost as poor as Andrew Jackson, in the backwoods, with hardly any schooling, by home study and public practice, he came to be one of the best writers and speakers of English that we have ever had. He was nicknamed "the Railsplitter" and "Honest Abe." Though a good man, "with malice toward none, with charity toward all, as God gives us to see the right," he became a martyr to the Presidency. He was the tallest of all our Presidents, being six feet, four inches in height, and in his early manhood had been very strong.

Andrew Johnson (elected as Vice President) was born in 1808, served as President from 1865 till 1869, and died in 1875. He had been Congressman, Governor of Tennessee, and Senator, and after leaving the Presidency was again elected to the United States Senate. He was a very poor boy, married at seventeen years of age, and was taught to read and write by his wife.

Ulysses Simpson Grant was born in 1822, served as President from 1869 till 1877, and died in 1885. He was a captain in the Mexican War and general of all the Union armies in the

Civil War. The people called him "Unconditional Surrender" Grant because, in 1862, he gave unconditional surrender as the only terms to the commander of a Confederate fort. His "Memoirs" were written just before his death, and showed that though he made a reputation as a silent and imperturbable man, he had strong emotions and great skill in expression.

Rutherford Birchard Hayes was born in 1822, served as President from 1877 till 1881, and died in 1893. He had been an army general, a Congressman, and Governor of Ohio. Four wounds in battle attested his bravery upon several occasions. He was, perhaps, the wealthiest of all our Presidents, gaining his fortune by inheritance, by marriage, and by law fees. Because his election had been contested bitterly as illegal, he refused to run for a second term. He gave away large sums of money in charity, and died greatly beloved.

James Abram Garfield was born in 1831, became President in 1881, served a half year, and died from the bullet of an assassin, who was insane. He had been a war general, a college president, and a Congressman. He was a fine public speaker and a great student. Like Lincoln and several other Presidents, he died without leaving any property.

Chester Alan Arthur (elected as Vice President), was born in 1830, served from 1881 till 1885, and died in 1886. He was the son of a poor immigrant clergyman, and the only important public office that he had held before becoming Vice President was that of Collector of the Port of New York.

Grover Cleveland was born in 1837, served from 1885 till 1889 and from 1893 to 1897, and died in 1908. He had been mayor of Buffalo and Governor of the State of New York. Physically, he was next to the largest of the Presidents, and loved outdoor sports, especially fishing. He was the only man who, losing a reelection when in office, was again nominated four years later, and then won.

Benjamin Harrison was the grandson of William Henry Harrison. He was born in 1833, served from 1889 till 1893, and died in 1901. He had been an army general and United

States Senator. He was a very able lawyer. In stature, he was the smallest of our Presidents.

William McKinley was born in 1843, served four and a half years, from 1897 to 1901, and was killed by an assassin, who had just immigrated to America and did not understand that our Presidents are our servants, who do what we order them to do. McKinley had been a soldier in the Civil War, a Congressman, and Governor of Ohio. He was notably gifted as a public speaker. All Americans loved him for his gentle manners and warm heart.

Theodore Roosevelt (elected as Vice President, and again as President) was born in 1858, and served from 1901 till 1909. He had been Assistant Secretary of the Navy, an army colonel in the Spanish-American War, and Governor of New York. He was an author of wide fame, a naturalist, an historian, a world-traveler, a hunter of big game, and a statesman. He died in 1919.

William Howard Taft was born in 1857, and served from 1909 till 1913. He had been a law school dean, a judge, Solicitor General of the United States, Governor General of the Philippines, and Secretary of War. Physically he was the largest of all the Presidents. After his term in the Presidency he became a university professor of great influence.

Woodrow Wilson was born in 1856, and took office in 1913. He had been a university president and Governor of New Jersey. As a writer of English, he was an ornament to the Presidency. He was reelected for a second term and served during the World War.

Warren Gamaliel Harding was born in 1865, and became President in 1921. He had previously been a United States Senator and a journalist. Like most recent Presidents and some of the earlier ones, he is a lover of outdoor life.

Such were and are the men who serve us in the White House as Presidents. No men in all the world work harder and more faithfully for the general welfare of humanity.

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